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HISTORY OF ART


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HISTORY OF ART

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THE RENAISSANCE

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CONTEMPORARY ART



Fig. 1. — Railing ornamented with reliefs and mosaics. *(Baptistery at Pisa.)*

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE RENAISSANCE. — THE PISAN SCULPTORS. — NICCOLA OF APULIA AND HIS PUPILS. — THE SPREAD OF THE PISAN SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE.

During all the Middle Ages the peoples of Western Europe preserved a strange recollection of classical antiquity. Theodoric, Charlemagne and the German emperors, such as the three Ottos, Henry VII and Frederick II, all attempted to reestablish the Roman Empire. They sought as the basis of their prestige the unity of Rome, an idea which never ceased to occupy the minds of men. We have already seen how Charlemagne with the most sincere enthusiasm made an effort to create a genuine renaissance of Latin literature. Nevertheless, after so many centuries of obscurity, the knowledge of ancient times was at once faulty and erroneous. Indeed, it was fanciful as well. Homer was read from a Latin extract from Dyctis of Crete, in which Hector and Achilles summoned and challenged one another like Tristan or Launcelot in the romances of chivalry. Many copies existed of Virgil's works which were widely read, but their meaning was entirely misunderstood, as we see from the fabricated legend in which he appears as a magician and



Fig. 2. — Statue of Frederick II. *(Museum of Capua.)*



Fig. 3.—Bust of Petrus de Vineis. *(Museum of Capua.)*

the daring constructor of strange monuments. Certain passages of Ovid were treated almost like the writings of one of the Fathers of the Church; while Trajan was considered a most Christian prince rewarded by a place in Heaven.

Not until the middle of the Fourteenth Century did an Occidental humanist really catch the spirit of the Homeric poems. This was Petrarch, and though he was no Greek scholar, the story that he was found dead after he had spent the night over a manuscript of Homer is highly significant of the dawn of a new era. Bocaccio was already almost a Hellenist. He and Petrarch stand out strongly in contrast to Dante, who had an entirely mediaeval conception of ancient times. Finally, in the middle of the Fifteenth Century the Turkish peril which threatened Constantinople led to the meeting of the Council of Florence which was attended by the Eastern Emperor together with his prelates and ministers. Some of these, like Bessarion, turned Roman Catholic and established themselves in Italy. It was they who brought to Europe a large part of the Greek manuscripts now in the possession of the Vatican and in Florence. The library of Messina, founded about that time, acquired a number of others which subsequently passed over to the Escorial. Ignorance was very general, not only of art and poetry, but also of the scientific achievements of the ancient world. Aristotle was known only through the Arab commentators, and Plato was studied from the extracts from his works which existed. The complete text of the latter was not discovered until the Fifteenth Century. Nev-



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Fig. 4.—Adoration of the Magi. *(Relief in the Baptistery.)* PISA.

ertheless it is interesting to note the attitude of the mediaeval monks and scholars toward the great names of ancient times. Not only in the great libraries, like the one St. Isidorus assembled at Seville, but also in the inventories of the collections of the smaller monasteries, we find the names of the classical writers and the titles of their books. Indeed, during the Romanesque period these were even more highly prized than today. Abbot Oliva of Ripoll fulminates against those who do not return borrowed books. Benedict, the founder of the abbey of Jarrow, before his death exhorts his monks that they should always preserve entire and never diminish by carelessness or sale "the great and noble library" which he had brought from Rome and which was necessary for the edification of the Church. It must be added, however, that this love for books did not include a critical faculty capable of comprehending their meaning. The mediaeval monks, particularly in the Dark Ages, read the ancient manuscripts, but interpreted them in their own way.



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Fig. 5. — The Nativity. *(Relief in the Baptistery.)* Pisa.

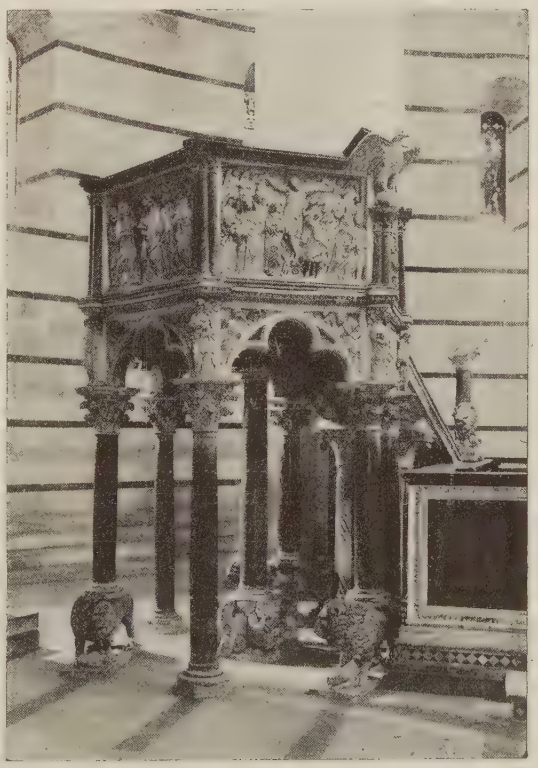


Fig. 6.— Pulpit of Niccola of Apulia. *(Baptistery of Pisa.)*

In regard to the plastic arts the confusion was still worse. They were neither understood nor imitated. When antique statues and ancient structures were uncovered, the Church at times displayed considerable suspicion; the

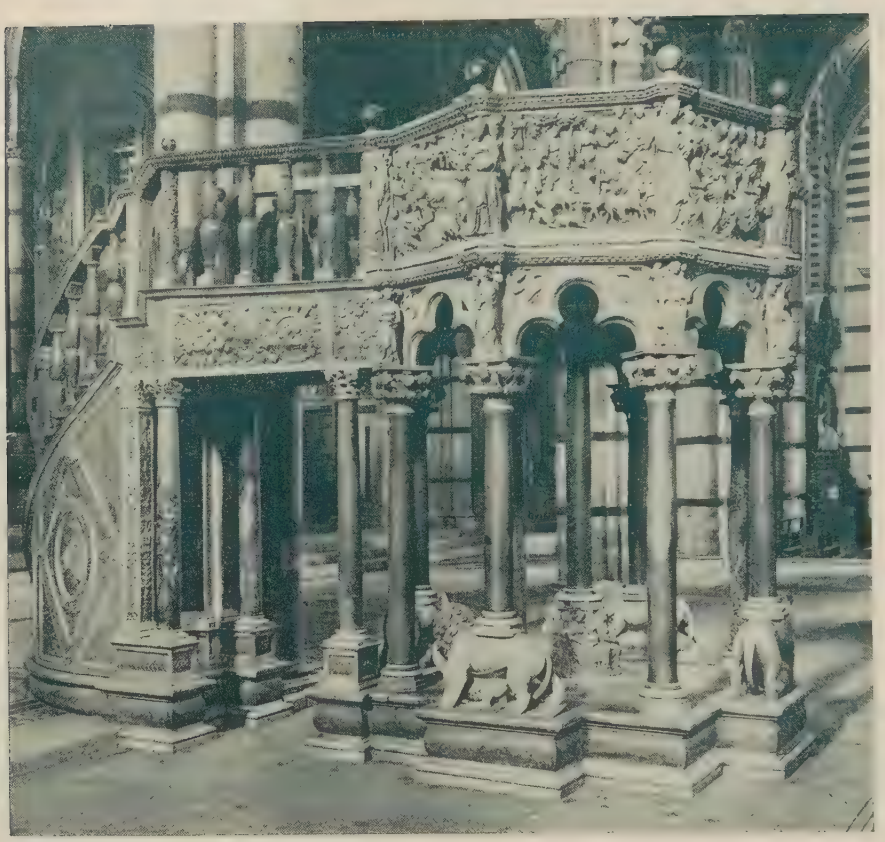


Fig. 7. — Pulpit in the cathedral of Siena, the work of Niccola of Apulia and his Pisan pupils.

buildings were pagan temples and the statues, those of heathen gods. But some of the Olympic personages were considered to be benevolent spirits which the monks continued to portray in their manuscripts as representations of the sun, moon and planets. Others were positively diabolical abortions. Nevertheless the Church did not discern the great enemy hidden in the figures and marvelous marbles laid bare by excavations. The statues were sometimes sacrificed to avert pestilence or some other misfortune, and the marble reliefs, whose beauty could not be appreciated, were utilized in the construction of new buildings. This occurred in the case of the reliefs of the cathedral of Orvieto (fig. 19) which are carved on the backs of antique sculptures. The latter are now embedded in the walls of which they form a part. Only in Italy during the Middle Ages did the enemies of the Church call pagan tradition to their aid. Without actually daring to abjure Catholic faith, the opponents of the ecclesiastical power turned to the old Greco-Roman tradition of which they had only a vague knowledge. Rienzi, the audacious Roman who took advantage of the residence of the Popes at Avignon to proclaim himself Tribune, is said to have employed the marbles of the Forum Boarium in the construction of the house which is

still a barbaric monument to his admiration for antiquity. He also occupied his leisure hours in copying the ancient inscriptions. In the Thirteenth Century Arnold of Brescia advocated the rebuilding of the Capitol.

But as a general thing the impulse to reestablish in Italy the art of the ancients was not inimical to the papacy and the Church. It was due rather to the admiration inspired by the statues and the remains of the old buildings. Men of cultivation were particularly attracted by their technical perfection. To give Charlemagne a sepulchre worthy of his renown, they were obliged to resort to a pagan sarcophagus. In Italy, moreover, where Roman remains were so abundant, they could not, even though they so desired, avoid learning much from the great works of art on every hand. Some of these had been highly esteemed by the people from time immemorial. Countless statues were still standing at Rome, such as the famous one of Marcus Aurelius, the bronze wolf, the Pasquino and many others found among the ruins. They abounded in Florence as well and it was useless to pretend to destroy them all, for they were as numerous as they were excellent. In Siena, a town of a markedly religious spirit, there was still in the Middle Ages a Roman wolf of bronze upon its walls like a blazon. In Pisa the antique marbles, sarcophagi and reliefs were awaiting a time when their teachings should be transmitted to the sculptors of the new style as the fruit of their passionate admiration for the old.



Fig. 8. — Detail of the pulpit of the cathedral of Siena.

There existed in the art of classical antiquity an essential factor which lay almost under the condemnation of the mediaeval Church, but as time went on it could not but triumph again and receive the honor due it. This was the conception of the beauty of the human body as a marvel on earth, a glory to behold, and the imperfect image of a divine archetype. In the Middle Ages it was taught that one of man's greatest enemies was his own body. Representation of it was proscribed all during the Romanesque period, and when ornamental art arrived

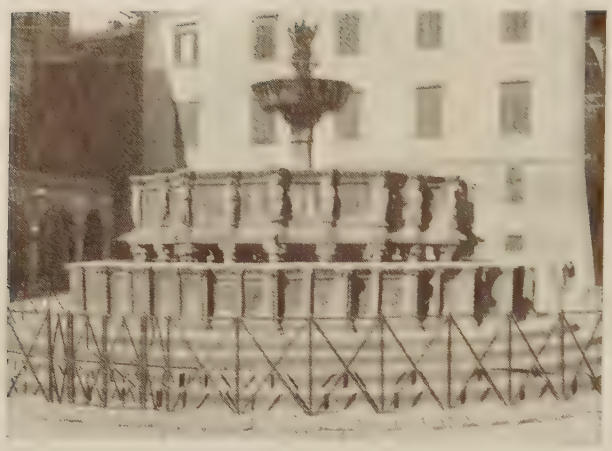


Fig. 9.—Fountain of Perugia, constructed by Niccola of Apulia and his Pisan pupils.

at a certain stage of development, the sculptors and painters hardly knew how to sketch the outlines of the human figure. The bodies were either made too long or else reduced to the crudest sort of outline. The nude was the most poorly portrayed of all; the figures of Adam and Eve, which could not be represented otherwise than naked, are squalid forms, absolutely alike except that two large breasts are outlined on the profile of the woman. The same is true of the folds of the garments clothing the various figures. In general this great invention of the ancient artists, their method of treating drapery, is substituted by straight folds which by their errors recall the early attempts of the archaic Greek sculptors. Not until the end of the Twelfth Century did sculpture achieve any degree of excellence among the nations of the Occident, and efforts to disguise the beauty of the human form were still very evident. In the great studios where the statues of the Gothic cathedrals were carved, they attained a technique and an art very similar to that of classical sculpture, but saints and virgins alike conceal their forms beneath armour or ample robes. If the nude appears at all, it is in the representation of the sins, the vices and diabolical spirits. In the Thirteenth Century the folds of the garments were represented with a certain degree of excellence, but they never achieve the flowing beauty of classical art. In the tunics and mantles of the Greco-Roman sculptures, we see something human; they possess a certain relation to the body beneath, as though they lovingly caressed the flesh which they enfold. Proud of covering such beauty, they seem to manifest a desire to reveal it.

It was in Italy that the first attempts were made to restore to the world that ideal of human beauty. They sought to imitate the art of the ancient world; consequently to the entire period we give the name of the Renaissance, by which we mean the rebirth of classical antiquity. All the arts did not at once follow this path. In this chapter, we will treat only of sculpture, for this art was far in advance of the others. It anticipated painting by almost a century and architecture by two. After all, it was easier to imitate the antique models of sculpture than to copy the colossal Roman structures. To reproduce or imitate the sculptures, it required only a skilful master and the desire on the part of his pupils to acquire his style. Architecture demanded a complete change in building

methods and even in the character of the materials employed as well. At the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, for example, Frederick II, whose predilection for classical art we have already noted, was living in Southern Italy surrounded by his jurists and literati and, like the true pagan he was, in open opposition to the papacy. When he resolved to construct his castles of Castel del Monte and Lucera and the cathedrals of Trani, Bari and Bitonto, he was obliged to adopt, particularly in his structures of a military character, the French Gothic style in vogue at the time. The great stone vaults were supported by ribs, much as wooden frames are used to construct an arch. The classical style is seen only in the decorative sculptures, like the heads set at the ends of the arches and the ornamentation of the doorways on the façades.



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Fig. 10. — Sarcophagus of S. Domenico. The work of Fra Guglielmo, a Pisan sculptor. *(Church of S. Domenico.)* BOLOGNA.

Nevertheless, it was here in the classic land of Southern Italy that the new art seems to have begun which we call the Renaissance. It was at first a deliberate intention to copy or imitate the antique marbles. But the seed planted here was soon carried to Tuscany, where it took root so firmly that it was long believed that the Renaissance originated in that country. In the preceding volume we have reproduced a number of the reliefs on the pulpits of Southern Italy (figs. 526 to 528) which were carved prior to the Tuscan Renaissance and which display a lively spirit of imitation of the ancient art. Two sculptures dating from the time of Frederick II which formerly adorned the gateway to the bridge at Capua are particularly interesting in this connection. In spite of its mutilation, the drapery of the seated figure of the monarch is an excellent imitation of the style of the antique marbles (fig. 2). The bust of his minister, Petrus de Veneis, bears a laurel crown like that of a Roman consul, and the beard and hair are plainly in imitation of the corkscrew ringlets of the ancient bronze-workers (fig. 3).

But after the death of Frederick II, this Southern Italian school of sculp-



Fig. 11.—Pulpit of S. Andrea at Pistoja, the work of Giovanni Pisano.

ture ceased to develop, but we find at Pisa in Tuscany a sculptor by the name of Niccola who was the actual initiator of the new style. Before it was learned that this so-called Pisan artist was a native of Apulia in Southern Italy, the Tuscan story of the origin of the Renaissance was generally believed, as given by Vasari, the biographer of a number of Renaissance artists. According to him, the Pisans had completed their magnificent cathedral and were constructing the Baptistery and Campanile. These sea-lords, at that time unconquered, had brought a great quantity of marbles from every part of the Mediterranean, from the Orient, Sicily and even the Balearic Isles. Many of these were sculptured pieces, and as they lay by the cathedral, ready for use in the construction of the new buildings, they attracted the attention of a young sculptor by the name of Niccola who was busily engaged in his art. To this Niccola, Vasari ascribes a number of sculptural and architectural works, which are still to be seen in Tuscany and which are in the transitional style. In 1260 he was commissioned to execute the pulpit of the Baptistery which was the glorious point of departure of the new Renaissance style. To Vasari, Niccola was always a Pisan, a marvelous case of self-education, a genius who originated a technique of his own inspired solely by his contemplation of the antique marbles and who had the foresight to anticipate the future trend of European art. *Essendo fra molte spoglie di marmi stati condotti della armata dei Pisani alcuni pili antichi... Niccola, considerando la bontà di queste opere, mise tanto studio e diligenza per imitare quella maniera, che fu giudicato il migliore scultore dei tempi suoi.*

This story of Vasari's has been completely discredited in our own time. Notwithstanding, we can readily understand that this marvelous pulpit, the reliefs of which still astound the beholder, should have given rise to fanciful tales regarding the origin of this art at Pisa which displayed such perfection from the very beginning, especially since nothing at all was known of the ante-

cedents of this school of sculpture in Southern Italy.

But there is no longer any doubt on the subject. In addition to the relations established between the styles of these two parts of Italy, we also have the old contract documents, one of them for the pulpit at Siena, in which Niccola Pisano is called Niccola of Apulia. Vasari himself seems to have known something of the origin of the father of Italian sculpture. Although he calls him a Tuscan, he refers to the sculptor's many trips to Naples and ascribes to him a great number of monuments in Southern Italy, among them the arch at Capua which was embellished with the sculptures representing Frederick II and his minister (figs. 2 and 3). ...*the arches over the Volturno river in the City of Capua*...



Fig. 12.—Pulpit from the cathedral, by Giovanni Pisano. Pisa.

The error in supposing Niccola to have been a native of Tuscany was a most natural one, for on that very pulpit in the Baptistery of Pisa is an inscription incised in the marble stating that it is the work of Niccola Pisano. This was, no doubt, the name the Pisans gave him. Moreover, many of the figures that are most plainly imitations of the Greco-Roman style, are faithful copies of the antique marbles still to be seen in the famous cloister of the Campo Santo at Pisa. The reliefs of the pulpit are on the railing. One of them represents the Adoration of the Magi. Here the Virgin is seated like a matron of ancient times, and her mantle and other drapery are evidently taken from the pagan sarcophagus with the myth of Hippolytus and Phaedra which is still preserved in the Campo Santo. In the relief of the Nativity, Mary reclines upon a couch like the figures on the covers of the Etruscan sarcophagi which are found in such numbers in Tuscany. In another, the Presentation in the Temple, the priest with his long beard is clearly an imitation of the figures on an antique vase in the Campo Santo. All these models were at Niccola's disposal in Tuscany, and at first it seems rather captious for the investigator to attempt to prove that he was a native of another part of Italy.

Nevertheless, although these figures in the reliefs of Niccola Pisano may be taken from classical models which could easily be copied right there in Pisa, their style was a distinct innovation in Tuscany. We have other Tuscan reliefs and pulpits which are almost contemporary with the work of Niccola, but the



Fig. 13. — St. Michael. Statue on the pulpit of the cathedral of Pisa.

difference in style is enormous. Usually these reliefs are rather poor and plain and interspersed with mosaics like those on the baptismal font of the Baptistery at Pisa (fig. 1). Even the form of the pulpit is a novelty; most of the Tuscan pulpits were square or rectangular, while this one is hexagonal like the pulpit carved at Spalato by a sculptor from Southern Italy. Its mouldings and the capitals of the columns that support it are imitations of Castel del Monte, the fortress built by Frederick II (fig. 6). This pulpit at Pisa is, therefore, the connecting link between these two first schools of Renaissance art, that of the precursors in Apulia and the one in Tuscany which was destined to achieve such wide success.

The pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa was no sooner completed than it awakened great enthusiasm, not only in the city, but throughout Tuscany. Six years later the builders of the cathedral of the neighboring city of Siena came to Niccola to get him to carve the pulpit of their church. The master accepted the commission and moved to Siena accompanied, as we learn from the documents, by a number of his pupils. Three of these were to become famous, his son Giovanni, the Florentine Arnolfo and a Dominican monk named Fra Guglielmo, who was probably the oldest. We can picture to ourselves the master and his pupils together with a number of apprentices installing themselves in Siena for the execution of an ambitious piece of work. It was to be more complicated than the pulpit at Pisa. The plan was octagonal instead of hexagonal, but it was to be supported by small columns. A brief examination of the Siena pulpit reveals the part taken by these four sculptors in carving the different reliefs. Niccola always enamored by the calm serenity of ancient art, comes closer to his classical models than in his Pisa work. Giovanni does not hold to his father's ideals but gives his figures an action which amounts almost to tragic passion; while Fra Guglielmo, cold and restrained, carves rounded and monotonous forms. Arnolfo, the real successor of Niccola, is most admirable giving his figures a truly classical majesty and beauty (figs. 7 and 8).

We see that the entire composition follows the ideas of Niccola, the master. The columns rest alternately upon the base and upon the backs of lions similar to those which we find on the Romanesque façades of Southern Italy. Above are trefoiled arches, and between them, reliefs representing prophets and apostles as on the pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa. Finest of all are the sculptured plaques which adorn the rail. These are beautiful evangelical scenes, particularly



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Figs. 14 and 15. — Giovanni Pisano. Sculptural groups supporting the pulpit in the cathedral of Pisa.

those carved by Niccola and Arnolfo, filled with figures that are worthy of the art of the ancient world (fig. 8).

After they had completed the pulpit at Siena, the pupils of Niccola separated, spreading the new art throughout Italy. Fra Guglielmo went to Bologna where he executed the designs of his master, Niccola, on the marble sarcophagus which was to be the tomb of St. Dominic de Guzman. The fame of this saint and the prestige of the order he had founded called for something very magnificent. The fact that the chapter of the Dominican order at Bologna sent for Niccola or one of his pupils on the other side of the Apennines to come and execute the tomb of the founder of their order bears witness to the prestige so soon achieved by the Pisan school all over Italy. As a matter of fact, the tomb of St. Dominic was the work of several generations (fig. 10). Fra Guglielmo carved only the *arca,* or sarcophagus. The upper portion with its figures and garlands belongs to the following century, and the two angels at the foot of the monument are still later. One of them is the work of Michelangelo. When

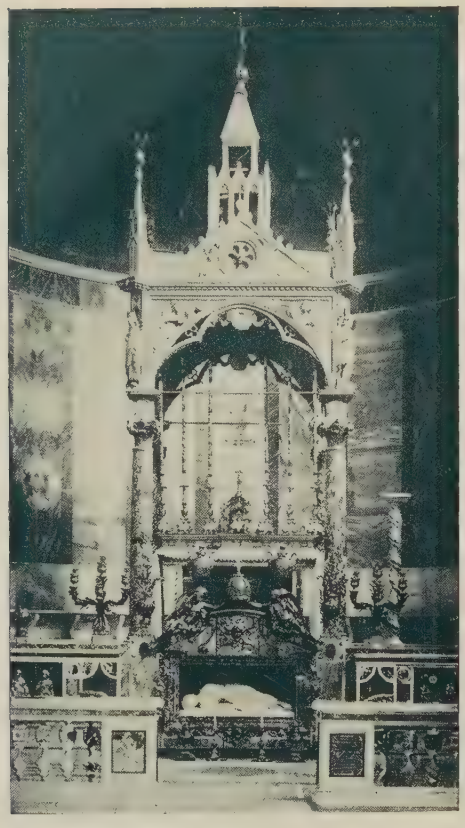


Fig. 16.—Ciborium of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. The work of Arnolfo. Rome.

Guglielmo went to Bologna, Arnolfo seems to have directed his steps toward Rome. Here in the metropolis of the ancient world, he further developed his style which already inclined to the serene and classical type of beauty.

Niccola and Giovanni were called to Perugia to construct a great monumental fountain on the piazza and here we will find Arnolfo working with them for the last time. This fountain is still standing, and is an evidence of the energy and superiority of the Pisan sculptors (fig. 9). Its arrangement is still that of the Middle Ages. There is a large basin, its parapet covered with figures representing the vices and virtues, saints, patriarchs, the signs of the zodiac, the months, Romulus, and Remus with the wolf and many other figures personifying the liberal arts and the cities of Perugia and Rome, *caput mundi*. On the lower part of the fountain is an inscription in which Niccola and Giovanni are enthusiastically praised as the masters who executed the work. But it also states that a part was taken in the work by Arnolfo who came from Rome for this purpose. There is a smaller basin above, which is also ornamented with sculptures on the panels and corners. Here, another inscription mentions only Giovanni.

It seems evident that Niccola must have been called back to Pisa by his fellow-citizens to direct the work on the upper part of the Baptistery. It is positively stated that he was at Pisa at this time and that when Giovanni returned to the city to construct the Campo Santo, the old master who had so signally revived the art of sculpture had been dead two years. The Campo Santo still displays above the entrance the name of *Joannes magister* which is plain evidence of the part taken by this master in the erection of the structure.

Of all the pupils of his father, Giovanni Pisano was the one least disposed to imitate the calm serenity of ancient art. As he forgets the lessons of Niccola, we find his violent and audacious spirit throwing off all restraint. After he had arrived at maturity, Giovanni worked alone, giving form to his daring inspirations. In 1301, when he was about fifty years old, we find him signing his name to the pulpit of S. Andrea at Pistoja. But even though so many years had passed,

we still find the hexagonal form of the first pulpit of Niccola in the Baptistery of Pisa (fig. 11). But what an enormous difference in the style! As far as restoring to the world the beauty of classical art is concerned, we may well call it a step backward. The figures occupying the panels of the rail of this pulpit are agitated by a tempest of tragic passions. Even in more peaceful scenes his characters seem torn by a strange torment which is hidden beneath their apparent repose. And when the sculptor portrays great tragedies, such as the Slaughter of the Innocents or the Crucifixion, the disorder of the figures is absolutely without restraint. The tumult in these scenes is excessively heightened. Never in the most painful representations of the Gothic period do we find in sculpture the intensity of the reliefs of Giovanni Pisano. Consequently this master had no successors; indeed no one was capable of imitating his style. He left sons and pupils, it is true, but they turned rather to the purer art of their grandfather, Niccola, which had been continued by his Florentine pupil, Arnolfo. Consequently Renaissance sculpture, which began in Pisa, developed as the Fourteenth Century advanced in the Florentine school of Arnolfo who had again drawn his inspiration from classical art.

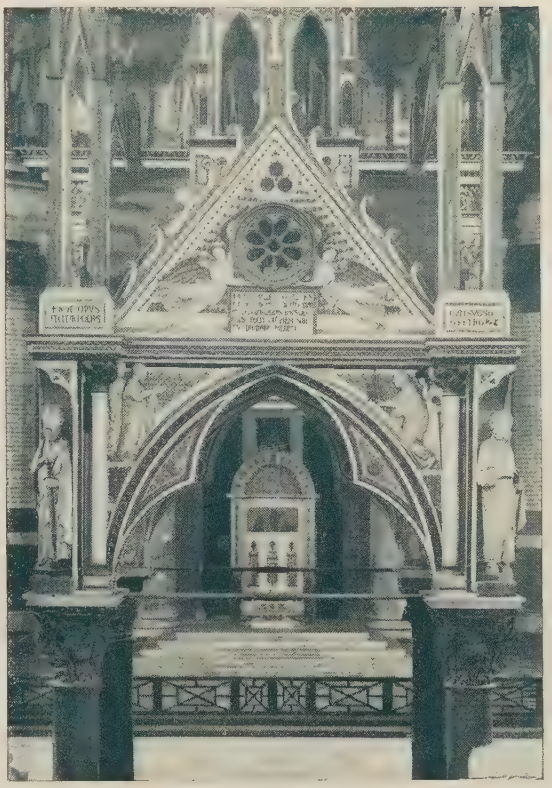


Fig. 17. — Ciborium of S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome.

Giovanni Pisano, after he completed the pulpit at Pistoja, was called back to Pisa to execute the pulpit in the cathedral. This work was to excel the one his father carved for the Baptistery (fig. 12). It was taken down during the Sixteenth Century, when the Duomo was being restored, and recently, on May 25, 1926, after 300 years of patient tenacity and hard work of many generations of lovers of art, the hundreds of original pieces found could be put together, and the monument has risen again in its place, in the great cathedral, a few steps from the Baptistery, where it can be compared with the pulpit carved by Niccola. It is octagonal in shape, seven of the sides bearing panels, and it stands upon a number of pillars with figures of saints. So far as we can judge from the accomplished reconstruction, the pulpit which Giovanni executed for the



Fig. 18. — Eve. Detail of the ciborium in S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Rome.

cathedral is even more intense in the feeling displayed than the one at Pistoja. It is supported by columns and rigid figures like caryatids which are animated by strong emotions. One of St. Michael seems to bow his head under the weight of the most painful anxiety (fig. 13). The personification of Pisa, a mother nourishing her children, is supported by the Imperial eagle and four symbolic figures representing the four Virtues (fig. 14). She raises her head in a convulsive attitude.

Other later works of Giovanni Pisano still exist. Particularly worthy of mention are the sculptures which he executed for the chapel of Scrovegno at Padua. This noble was the friend of Dante and Giotto, and the walls of his votive chapel are covered with frescoes by the latter. Here, too, is the statue of Scrovegno accompanied by two angels and one of the Virgin which is very similar to those in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The passionate ardor of Giovanni was entirely in keeping with the spirit of his age. Not until the middle of the Thirteenth Century do we again find that serene optimism of the ancient world which had so inspired his father. In this chapel at Padua where we still seem to feel the presence of Dante and Giotto, a relief like those of the pulpit in the Pisan Baptistery would seem out of place, but the figures of Giovanni are entirely in harmony with the surroundings.

The Renaissance, however, was to follow its own path. Giovanni Pisano was a natural factor in its development. Arnolfo, who was perhaps less individual, again took the line of action indicated by Niccola. Leaving the two Pisan sculptors at work on the fountain at Perugia, Arnolfo returned to Rome, where he executed two beautiful works which we still see in the places for which they were intended. These are the ciboria, or canopies, of the altars in S. Paolo fuori le Mura and S. Cecilia in Trastevere (figs. 16 and 17). They are very similar. Their trefoiled arches rest upon four columns, and the corners are decorated with the figures of angels and prophets. Here we see the pure style of Niccola. The one in S. Paolo fuori le Mura (fig. 17) is signed, *Hoc opus fecit Arnolfus.*



Fig. 19.— Reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto.

Later he returned to his native city of Florence, but not before he had stopped at Orvieto to carve the tomb of Cardinal Braye, which was to serve as a model for the tombs of the early Renaissance. Like the sarcophagus carved by Fra Guglielmo at Bologna, it followed the classical form. Upon the stone coffin rests the figure of the deceased beneath a canopy. Two angels hold back the sculptured marble curtains, revealing the recumbent statue within. Above, the deceased is represented again, this time kneeling and being presented to the Virgin by two saints. Still higher up, Mary, with her Son, is seated like a Roman matron. Besides the sculptural decoration, other evidences of Arnolfo's sojourn at Rome are evident in this work. He has adopted the glass and enamelled mosaics of the Cosmati, who were filling that city with their elegant decorations. Over the tomb of this cardinal, the Virgin sits upon a throne which recalls the bishop's thrones in the early Christian basilicas. We see other evidence of Arnolfo's stay at Orvieto in the reliefs on the lower part of the façade of the cathedral. They are handsome sculptures by anonymous artists, but it is plain that they learned their style from those of the Pisan school, particularly Arnolfo.

From Orvieto Arnolfo passed to his native city, Florence, where he had been summoned to direct the construction of the great cathedral, or Duomo, which the Florentines intended should surpass anything in Tuscany. We know little of the personal activities of Arnolfo during the last period of his life. It is very possible that Tino da Camaino learned his art under Arnolfo at this time. This was the Sienese artist, noted for the elegance of his style, who was later to carry the new art to the Kingdom of Naples.

Thus while Guglielmo was carrying the styles we have been discussing to Bologna, Giovanni Pisano to Padua, Arnolfo to Rome and Orvieto and Tino da Camaino to Naples, another sculptor of the same school, Balduccio da Pisa, went to Milan in Lombardy to execute the tomb of St. Peter the Martyr. In this manner the pupils of the great Niccola spread this new style of sculpture to every part of Italy. In the next chapter we shall see how Giotto and his pupils at Florence brought about by different means the revival of the art of painting.

Summary. — The revival of classical art began in Tuscany about the end of the Thirteenth Century. A sculptor by the name of Niccola, a native of Apulia in Southern Italy, was commissioned to execute the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa. This was the first work in the style which we now call the Renaissance. Aided by his pupils, he also carved the pulpit of the cathedral of Siena. These followers were his son, Giovanni, a Florentine named Arnolfo and a Dominican monk, Fra Guglielmo, who was probably a native of Sardinia. These three spread the teaching of their master throughout Italy. Fra Guglielmo went to Bologna, where he carved the sarcophagus of St. Dominic. At Rome Arnolfo executed the canopies over the altars in S. Cecilia and S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Later he carved the tomb of the Cardinal Braye at Orvieto. In the meantime, Niccola and Giovanni were sculpturing the monumental fountain at Perugia. Niccola returned to Pisa and worked on the upper portion of the Baptistery, and Giovanni, on the pulpits of S. Andrea at Pistoja and the cathedral of Pisa. At Padua the latter carved a number of statues in the chapel of the Madonna dell'Arena. Tino da Camaino was a pupil of Giovanni and Arnolfo and executed the tombs of some of the Angevine kings of Naples. Thus this younger generation, the pupils of Niccola spread the new style to every part of Italy. But it was in Florence that this school of sculpture found its strongest foothold, although it originated in Pisa. This was due largely to the character of Arnolfo, who, among the followers of the master, approached most closely to the true spirit of ancient classical art.

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Fig. 20. — Commerce. Relief of the Campanile at Florence.

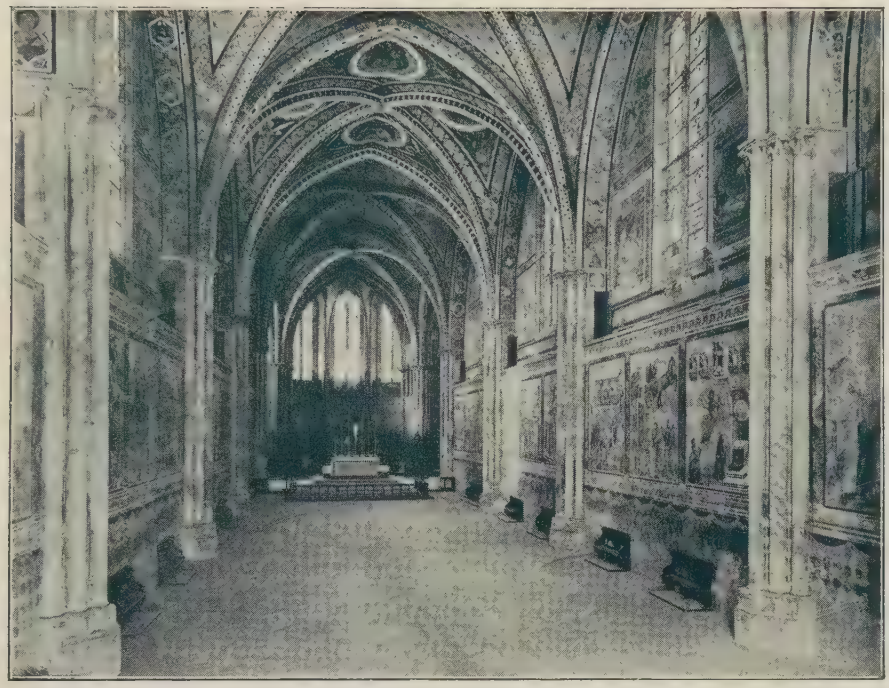


Fig. 21. — Interior of the upper basilica of S. Francesco. Assisi.

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN PAINTING AT ROME AND FLORENCE DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. PIETRO CAVALLINI. — CIMABUE AND GIOTTO. — TADDEO GADDI AND HIS PUPILS.

During this brief survey of the Italian Renaissance we shall often have occasion to refer to the work entitled "Lives of the most excellent Italian Architects, Painters and Sculptors," written about the middle of the Sixteenth Century by a painter and architect named Giorgio Vasari. It consists of a series of biographies of various artists and was written at the instance of a group of humanists and literary men of the Roman court such as Annibale Caro, Giulio Clovio and others like them. These men were by this time fully aware of the perfection achieved by Italian art, and they were desirous of knowing more fully how it all came about. The intellectuals of the period were much given to biography. Vasari was preceded by Villani, Ghiberti and Condivi, of whom Ghiberti had written a book of biographical data regarding the early Florentines and Condivi was the author of a life of Michelangelo which Vasari copied almost word for word. In spite of its errors, Vasari's book is most valuable. Although he often gave as indisputable facts traditions which comparison with the documents has proved wrong, nevertheless his general point of view has usually been correct, and he erred only in his treatment of details. Besides, his generous



Fig. 22. — Thirteenth-century altar representing the story of St. Francis. *(Museum of Pisa.)*

enthusiasm and good taste covering so wide a field caused him to devote his attention to the works of the early artists as well as those of the great masters who were his contemporaries and friends, such as Michelangelo and Raphael.

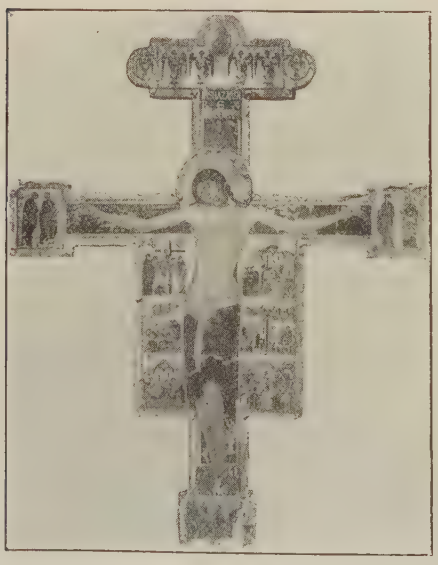


Fig. 23. — Crucifix of the school of Giunta Pisano. *(Museum of Pisa.)*

We have already noted one of Vasari's most widely known mistakes in our discussion of his theory concerning the origin of Gothic art, also his supposed miraculous and spontaneous formation of Renaissance sculpture in the case of Niccolà Pisano. According to Vasari, this sculptor saw and copied the reliefs of the pulpit in the Baptistery from antique marbles which had been heaped up in the neighborhood of the Campo Santo of Pisa, all without the aid of any master or previous example. Now we know that his mysterious Niccolà of Pisa was Niccolà of Apulia, a much more genuine person, who had his antecedents in the Southern Italian schools of sculpture.

Another of Vasari's well known stories has suffered in much the same

manner. Just as Niccolà Pisano was supposed to have invented sculpture anew, so the art of painting, according to Vasari, sprang spontaneously to life in Tuscany. He tells us that Italy had fallen into artistic decadence and there was no longer any school of painting at all. The altar-pieces, frescoes, and mosaics of the churches were being executed by Byzantine artists who invaded Italy in swarms spreading everywhere their stereotyped scenes. Cimabue and Giotto were their pupils, but the latter had the originality to produce a style of his own. Now we do not deny the evident progress made by Cimabue and Giotto and the innovations which they brought to the art of painting, and we can see everywhere in Italy how much they took from the Byzantine types for their mosaics and frescoes. Nevertheless, we are beginning to understand how much there was for them to learn from the painting of their own country which had never ceased to produce interesting work all through the Middle Ages. This was especially true at Rome. Here, neither the technique of mosaic nor the traditions of good fresco-painting had ever been completely lost. There was an important school in Southern Italy, and we have already discussed the art of Monte Cassino and the school of Benedictine painters who produced decorative compositions like those of S. Angelo in Formis near Capua.



Fig. 24.—Early Tuscan painting on wood. *(Museum of Pisa.)*

Even in the churches of Tuscany we find a series of paintings on wood, altar-pieces and the like, which were the product of the local tradition. In some of them, for example, we see St. Francis; certainly the iconography of this saint could not have been imported from Byzantium (fig. 22). Until recently the best known of these pictures were a few crucifixes painted on wood which were hung from a high bar over the centre of the high altar or in the chancel. Among these is the highly venerated one belonging to the Clarisse nuns of St. Damianus of Assisi, the source of St. Francis' inspiration to rebuild the ruined church. Others have been collected in the Museum of Pisa (fig. 23). Tradition ascribes them all to a certain Giunta, the first Tuscan painter, but a number of them bear other signatures. The artistic tradition of a whole school is comprised in the name of Giunta. On the ends of the arms of these crucifixes are extensions,



Fig. 25. — Pietro Cavallini. The Annunciation. *(Mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere.)*

or tablets, on which we find the Virgin, St. John and scenes from the Passion in which the artists had begun to familiarize themselves with a new iconographical repertory.

Also these Tuscan predecessors of Cimabue and Giotto painted the Virgin seated upon a throne with angels and saints on small altars. In the oldest of these, which date from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, the Virgin is bent somewhat over the head of the Child. The only difference between them and the Byzantine icons is the rude style in which they are painted. The Virgin is represented half-length or else seated on an ivory throne as in the Byzantine pictures. The folds of the drapery are indicated by gold lines. There is no relief, no contrast of light and shadow, nor is there any life or expression. Especially Byzantine in appearance are the little pictures on either side of the image representing the Evangelical legend; but the iconography gradually becomes more and more modified until at last only the oriental forms of the little temples in the backgrounds and landscapes remain.

Vasari was a native of the Tuscan city of Arezzo, and in addition to mentioning Giunta he is impelled by his local patriotism, no doubt, to recall another of these early Tuscans by the name of Margheritone of Arezzo. In his short account of this artist, he tells us that "he was considered excellent among the painters of that time who worked in the Byzantine manner." An altar-frontal



Fig. 26. — Pietro Cavallini. The Adoration of the Magi. *(Mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere.)* Rome.

signed by Margheritone, now in the National Gallery, shows that his work did not possess much value; indeed it was no better than that of the other artists of his time, and his only merit seems to have been that he signed his indifferent creations.

But the names of Margheritone and Giunta, preserved by chance, are only a indication of what lies behind them in the field of Italian painting. They are not paintings on wood, but frescoes and mosaic compositions which reveal the progress made in the old mediaeval traditions by the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. Near the Tuscan coast not far from the port of Pisa the people of that city constructed the basilica of S. Pietro in Grado in which we still find the faded remains of an old fresco painted before Cimabue and Giotto surprised the world with their innovations.

We are well acquainted with some of the works of a painter who was the contemporary of these Tuscan artists. This was the great Roman, Pietro Cavallini, whose well known frescoes in S. Cecilia in Trastevere have been preserved, as well as his mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere and a number of other works in Rome. This artist was far superior to the Tuscan painters we have mentioned and even to the Byzantine masters from whom, according to Vasari, Cimabue



Fig. 27. — Pietro Cavallini. Fresco in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Rome.

and Giotto learned their art, although the last were the founders of the Florentine school of painting.

It is highly significant that Vasari could not avoid mentioning a name so great as that of Pietro Cavallini, but in his anxiety to give Tuscany all the credit for the creation of a new art, he refers to the great Roman painter as one of second rank and merely a pupil of Giotto. But we know that Cavallini belonged to the generation before Giotto and that he went from Rome to decorate the new basilica of St. Francis at Assisi. Here he must have encountered Cimabue, and it is quite possible that he instructed the young Florentine master in the technique of the old mediaeval art of fresco-painting, of which he knew all the secrets.

In any case we know that Cavallini was the master and not the pupil of the Florentine painters. Furthermore, he was their collaborator in the task of restoring classical art, although he was quite Roman in spirit. His mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere consist of six compositions of such magnificence that they recall the great days of early Christian art, when it was still imbued with the classical technique (figs. 25 and 26). We are reminded of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore or the miniatures of the Genesis of Vienna reproduced in the second volume of this work. The frescoes of S. Maria have long been known, but the Roman chronicles and the Liber Pontificalis also mention works by Cavallini in the Vatican basilica and in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. The last have been discovered only recently. The lower part of the church had been whitewashed, but above existed the important remains of a Last Judgment by Cavallini. No one had been able to examine it because of the rigid seclusion of this monastery, but recently permission has been obtained to study and photograph these frescoes (figs. 27 and 28). Their beauty



Fig. 28. — Pietro Cavallini. Fresco in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Rome.



Cimabue. Madonna with angels. *(Accademia delle Belle Arti.)* FLORENCE.

is purely classical. They do not recall in any way the Oriental Byzantine school alluded to by Vasari. The types are not only Roman, but even peculiar to the Trastevere which lies on the other side of the Tiber and has a psychology all its own. One of the angels seems to anticipate that type of Roman feminine beauty which was later to be perpetuated by Raphael. The head is that of a girl with the coiffure typical of the Trastevere.



Fig. 29.—Cimabue. Madonna with four angels and St. Francis. *(Upper Church.)* Assisi.

But Cavallini, great as he was, seems to have exerted little influence upon his contemporaries. The spirit of his work passed over to Tuscany, where Cimabue and Giotto were to begin an artistic revival which should endure. Vasari gives us the following account of Cimabue, the first great master of the Florentine school: "He was of the noble Cimabue family. His father sent him for instruction to a relative, a monk who was teaching the novices in S. Maria Novella. But as some Byzantine painters had been brought to decorate the chapel of the Gondi, Cimabue became interested in their work and often left his studies to spend the entire day watching these painters. For this reason his father and also these foreigners favored his avocation. Aided by his talent and much inclined to art, he greatly surpassed the style of painting of the Byzantines who, engrossed in their art, did not think of bettering it or of progressing." The slight positive value of this legend is evident when we recall that the church of S. Maria Novella at Florence was begun in 1279, when Cimabue had already become famous. Nevertheless, there is some basis for Vasari's story, for we always find in Cimabue's works something of the typical arrangement of the Virgin and the saints affected by the painters of the Byzantine school, and he may have watched them at work in the Baptistery at Florence if not in S. Maria Novella.

Little of Cimabue's work has come down to us; indeed, Reinach goes so far as to state that no authenticated paintings by him are known. Nevertheless, he must have painted many pictures. Vasari ascribes to him a Madonna in S. Maria Novella, but we now know from documents recently discovered that it was the work of a Sienese painter by the name of Duccio di Buoninsegna. On the other



Fig. 30. — Citizen of Assisi spreading his cloak at the feet of St. Francis.

hand, it seems likely that Cimabue executed two paintings on wood of the Virgin and angels. One of these is now in the Louvre, and the other, still in Florence in the Accademia delle Belle Arti. (Plate I.)

In both the Virgin is seated on an ivory throne flanked by turned columns apparently held up by angels on either side. These angels are not the Roman girls of Pietro Cavallini. They have rather the androgynous countenances of the Byzantine archangels with curly hair and wear dalmatics like the deacons of the Middle Ages. But in the Virgin herself we find a live person of flesh and blood. This type created by Cimabue is of such grace that even though nothing more than these feminine figures had come down to us, we would still consider him the father of modern painting. It is essentially a Florentine type, and we shall find the aristocratic elegance of Cimabue's Virgins to be the dominant note of the Florentine school.

Another painting closely associated with those we have mentioned is the fresco of the Virgin with angels in the apse of the church at Assisi which has also been ascribed to Cimabue. To one side of the Divine Mother and the angels stands St. Francis. He has here the meager keen appearance with which we shall always find him represented (fig. 29). Cimabue's repertory does not seem to have been an extensive one. A noble and cultivated spirit enamored of beauty, he does not, like Giotto, his pupil, venture to explore unknown territory, nor does he compose new repertories of scenes for posterity to follow.

After Cimabue another painter by the name of Giotto, who was his pupil, was to surpass him in many respects, just as Giovanni Pisano did his father, Niccolà, who was the founder of a new school of sculpture. Dante, who was a witness of the revolution precipitated by



Fig. 31. — Detail of the preceding figure.

Giotto, mentions him in his Divine Comedy:

"In painting Cimabue thought that he
Should hold the field, now Giotto has the cry,
So that the other's fame is growing dim."



Fig. 32.— Giotto. The Pope approving the rules of the Franciscan Order. *(Upper Church.)* Assisi.

Dante's eulogy of Giotto is very significant. Giotto bears witness to the new taste for passion, a preference for the expression of sentiment. In his compositions we find a plastic manifestation of the laws of desire and pain, and this would naturally please such a man as the author of the Divine Comedy. A legend has been fabricated telling of the personal relations between Dante and Giotto, and although it is not founded on fact, it has a basis in the nature of the spirit animating these two men. Both possessed a capacity for feeling things, never surpassed by any other artist. It has been said that Giotto was probably intimate with Dante during the latter's exile at Padua where Giotto decorated a chapel. Today, however, it seems unlikely that they were at Padua at the same time, although their friendship and mutual affection cannot be denied. Dante eulogized the painter in his poem, and the latter painted a portrait of the poet in one of the frescoes of the residence of the Podestà, or chief Magistrate of Florence. (Plate II.) They were alike in that both were always moved at the sight of the powerful impulses and passions of mankind. Dante is implacable toward the weak, but he has a wealth of compassion for those who had been condemned to everlasting punishment for being carried away by their passions. In his Inferno he is moved to tears at the paternal love of his enemy Farinata. Giotto painted the Magdalene of the *Noli-me-tangere* and the unhappiness of Joachim and Anna. He is, above all, the painter of St. Francis, the brother of the birds, of his *suora Luna* and his *frate Sole*.



Fig. 33.—Roman temple at Assisi.

The expressive realism of Giotto is what gave rise, no doubt, to the pretty story related by Vasari and telling how he became a pupil of



Fig. 34. — Giotto. St. Francis and Pietro Bernardone. *(Upper Church.)* Assisi.

Cimabue while yet a boy. As usual, Vasari is too much of a theorist. "The art of painting," he says, "began to revive in a little town near Florence called Vespignano. Here was born a child of marvelous genius who could draw a sheep from life. One day the painter, Cimabue, passed by that place on his way to Bologna. When he saw the boy drawing his sheep upon a rock, he was filled with amazement and asked him his name. I am called Giotto, and my father who lives in this house is called Bondone. Cimabue begged the father to entrust his son to him, and he became in time his favorite pupil."

We have here three details which will serve to give us some idea of the artistic character of Giotto; first, his apprenticeship to Cimabue; second, his love of nature; third, the eulogy and friendship of Dante which indicate his taste for representing human passions. Another characteristic of this famous master, who was perhaps the greatest genius ever known in the history of painting, was his facility of production and the great amount of work he turned out. He worked at Assisi, in the old basilica of St. Peter at Rome, at Padua, Florence and even at Naples. He planned everywhere great series of original compositions in which we never fail to discern his ardent and creative spirit.

Giotto also preserved a certain energy in keeping with the temperament of a countryman. He is of the people and he loves them. A sharp tongue seems to have accompanied his genius; he treated the great with the unaffected familiarity of a rustic. Once the King of Naples was watching him paint on a very hot day and remarked: "If I were Giotto I would rest a while." "I would, too, if I were the king," replied the painter, suggesting that art was not the same

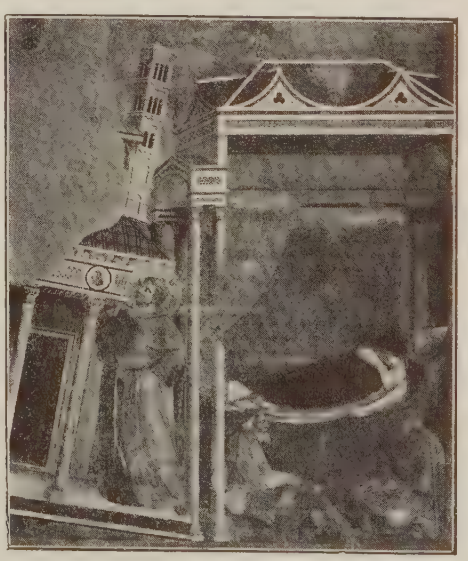


Fig. 35. — Giotto. St. Francis supporting the Lateran. *(Upper Church.)* Assisi.



Giotto. Portrait of Dante Alighieri. *(Chapel of the Bargello.)* FLORENCE.

thing to both men. His frankness evidently pleased the monarch, for we read in a document of 1330 where the latter states almost with pride: "Joctus de Florentia, pictor... in familiarem nostrum recepimus et de nostro hospicio retinemus."

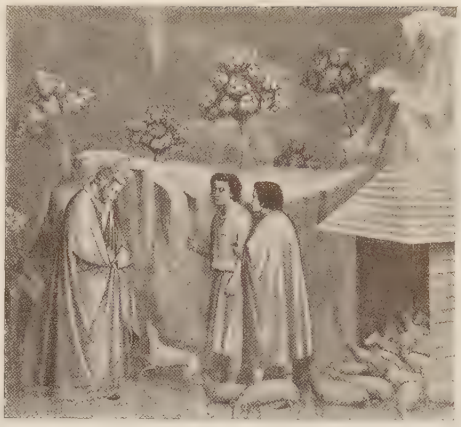


Fig. 36.— Giotto. Joachim and the shepherds. *(Chapel of the Arena.)* PADUA.

We know little of Giotto's earliest work. The first we know of are probably the frescoes at Assisi. The decoration of this basilica was begun by Pietro Cavallini and Cimabue and continued later by Giotto, so it is today a genuine museum of early Italian art. The church consists only of a nave lighted with high windows, so its vast wall-space furnished a splendid field for the painters (fig. 21). Pietro Cavallini had painted on the left wall a number of traditional scenes from the Old and New Testaments. In the crossing Cimabue painted the Virgin seated among angels. Giotto, breaking with all tradition, boldly undertook a completely new repertory. He painted on the right wall scenes representing the most important events of the life of St. Francis. Here we find the whole legend of the founder of the Franciscan Order which was still in a state of development and had never been portrayed. It seems likely that these frescoes of Giotto at Assisi were painted during the first years of the Fourteenth Century; the Saint had been dead but little more than half a century. Popular devotion to the apostle of poverty was increasing every day and being extolled from the altar. Giotto outlined, one by one, the graphic scenes which form the series of the life of the mendicant friar of Assisi on the wall of the basilica constructed over his tomb. In the first picture we see the son of a rich merchant beginning to draw apart from the frivolous life of a young man. One of the inhabitants of Assisi pays him reverence, spreading his cloak before him on the square of the city that he may step upon it (fig. 30). The group of the two citizens of Assisi who comment on the scene is full of life (fig. 31). On the other hand, it is interesting to note how the same artist, so capable of portraying the realities of life, is unable to copy correctly the Roman temple on the square



PHOTO ALINARI.

Fig. 37. — Giotto. Meeting of Joachim and Anna. *(Chapel of the Arena.)* PADUA.



Fig. 38. — Giotto. Scene from the life of Mary. *(Chapel of the Arena.)* Padua.

(fig. 33). He gives it five columns instead of six and ornaments it with mediaeval mosaics as though it were part of the furnishings of a church.

In the next scene Francis gives his mantle to a beggar. In the following pictures we see his vocation, the dispute with his father, Pietro Bernardone (fig. 34), the dream in which Christ warns him to restore the tottering Church (fig. 35), his miracles, sermons, penance, his relations with his companions and finally his death and the miracles performed through his intercession. In all these scenes the secondary figures clearly express the emotion produced by the immediate presence of the sanctity of St. Francis.

In the Assisi frescoes we see the creation of a completely new repertory which was to be copied by a devout posterity all during the Fourteenth Century. The Franciscan legend was reproduced by Giotto's pupils just as the master had painted it and with little variation. This alone indicates the creative power of the great Florentine painter, when we recall that it required four centuries of trial efforts to produce the repertory of Christian themes and generation after generation of artists worked laboriously elaborating the Evangelical legend beginning with the frescoes of the catacombs, down to the miniatures of the early



Fig. 39. — Giotto. The betrothal of the Virgin. *(Chapel of the Arena.)* Padua.

Bibles and the mosaics of the basilicas. It is true, of course, that the representation of the Franciscan legend was more easily achieved; there did not exist the great difficulty presented by the divine figure of Christ, but it was difficult enough. The first books of the life of the Saint, such as the *Old Legend,* the so-called of the Three Fellows, that of S. Buonaventuri, and the *Fioretti,* which came to be the four Franciscan gospels, popularized the unusual circumstances connected with the life of St. Francis to such an extent that the public was desirous of seeing it developed artistically as a parallel to the life of Christ.

Today there exists a current of thought that is rather inimical to the frescoes at Assisi, and there are even those who hesitate to ascribe them to Giotto, but it does not seem likely that anyone but this talented artist would have ventured upon such an undertaking. Opposite the Biblical stories of the patriarchs and the scenes from the New Testament painted by Cavallini on the wall at Assisi, Giotto, the painter of the generations to come, perpetuated the legend of the Saint who loved nature, who preached to the birds and communed in extasy with God himself. It was to Francis that Dante dedicated a canto of his Paradise, and Giotto, still a youth and somewhat lacking in skill, displays the same Dantesque ardor in his poems in color at Assisi.



Fig. 40. — Scene from the life of the Virgin. *(Mosaic of the Kahriyeh Djami.)* CONSTANTINOPLE.

There exists another series of Giotto's frescoes, marvelously preserved, in which the great master availed himself of the old evangelical themes in order to offer them to his contemporaries in a rejuvenated form. These are the paintings in the little chapel erected by Scrovegno, Prince of Padua, in the centre of the old Roman arena in memory of the martyrs who had once suffered there. The outlines of the ancient amphitheatre are still to be seen surrounding the chapel, and the silence and solitude of the spot lend themselves to the contemplation of the works of the great Florentine painter. The frescoes of this chapel are all either his work or that of the pupils who worked under his direction. There are thirty-eight pictures. Some of them are taken from the canonical Gospels and other from the apocryphal Gospel of St. James, in which we find the legends of Joachim and Anna prior to the birth of Jesus. The latter was very popular during the Middle Ages, especially in the Orient, and the Byzantine painters were extremely fond of the romantic story of Joachim who was jealous of his wife and fled to the desert. The genius of Giotto gave new life to these old types. In the pictures in which Joachim is represented among the shepherds, we see again Giotto, the country boy of Vasari's tale sketching his sheep (fig. 36). The landscape is simply indicated by means of a few rocks and trees to give the idea of rustic surroundings. We are still far from the day when the artist, freed from the technical difficulties which engaged Giotto's attention, could occupy himself with such matters as perspective and atmosphere.

The apocryphal Gospel of St. James is prolific in details regarding the



Fig. 41. — Giotto. The dance of Salome. *(Santa Croce.)* Florence.

childhood and betrothal of the Virgin, all of which were favorite subjects of the Byzantine artists, and Giotto, who was a simple soul, enthusiastically reproduces them. To him, no doubt, these episodes of familiar life were more significant than the parables and the Passion. He loved such scenes as that of the three matrons who come to assist Anna when the Virgin is born, or the Visitation (figs. 37, 38 and 39).

It is interesting to compare one of these compositions inspired by the Gospel of St. James with the same theme as rendered by the Byzantine artists. Take, for example, the miracle of the proof of the rods, where that of Joseph, the chosen husband, flowers alone among those of the other suitors (fig. 40).

The arrangement of the figures is very similar. In both compositions we see the same group of suitors, and in both the high priest sits in a little temple, or pavilion, behind a table on which are the rods. But for all these resemblances, there is an enormous difference in the spirit of the picture. The Byzantine personages are expressionless decorative figures, while, in every one of Giotto's characters we see the play of a lively and profound sentiment. The other suitors of the Virgin break their dry rods with an expression of displeasure, but in the face of Joseph, the just man, we see reflected an ineffable joy. It was in this manner that Italian artists were to paint the scene times without number, and down to the famous Betrothal of the Virgin by Raphael we shall continue to see the group of suitors breaking their dry rods.

The principal interest attached to these frescoes at Padua and Assisi is due to Giotto's perspicacity in analyzing the depths of the human soul. Gazing at these two monumental compositions for the first time and without preparation, one is somewhat taken back at the ingenuous simplification of the background, the poverty of the landscape sketched in with miniature trees and the fanciful



Fig. 42. — Giotto. Noli-me-tangere. *(Chapel of S. Magdalena.)* Assisi.

and childlike buildings supported by impossibly slender columns, Giotto's idea of the temple at Jerusalem or the palaces of his own time. For the first time the painter allows the human soul the principal part in his scenes, and it is precisely this which gives Dante's friend his importance. Like the Florentine poet, Giotto, too, closely observes the great multitude of human beings who make up the world, now as personages of importance and again as supernumeraries, in order to give each one his own gesture, spirit and expression which shall express the joy or sorrow which he feels at the moment. For us of the West, life is never a permanent condition, but rather a constant succession of moments composed of anxiety, calm, sadness and pain.

Giotto also decorated a portion of the old basilica of S. Peter in the Vatican which was destroyed to make way for the present structure. Of this series of compositions only a mosaic remains, much restored, representing the ship of the apostles with Peter walking upon the water; it is above the entrance. He also painted a fresco in the church of the Lateran which has been preserved. This represents the proclamation of the jubilee by Boniface VIII (fig. 49). As already stated, he painted many frescoes at Naples for King Robert, but none of these have been preserved. At all events, it is believed that during the last years of his life Giotto enjoyed an unusual and undisputed reputation as the foremost artist of his time; indeed, no one achieved a similar fame in Italy down to the time of Michelangelo. It is probable that he returned to Assisi and painted the lower church which is like a large crypt and as wide as the basilica above. Here we still find scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene (fig. 42). Giotto was



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Giotto. Madonna with angels. *(Accademia.)* FLORENCE.

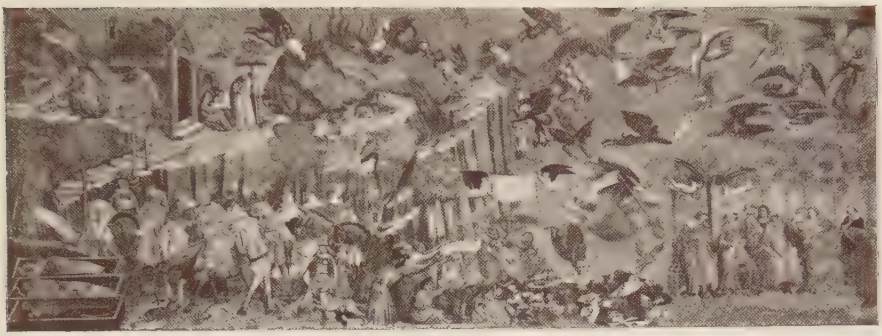


Fig. 43. — School of Orcagna. The Triumph of Death. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

principally a decorator, and his specialty was fresco-painting. Of his paintings on wood there is the altar of the Vatican, on the remains of which we see the beautiful central figure of Christ with a parted beard and a gentle expression which were copied in all the images of the Saviour during the Fourteenth century. Two other altars also remain; one is from the Franciscan monastery at Pisa and represents the story of St. Francis. It has been in the Louvre for more than a century. The other is preserved in Giotto's own city, in the Accademia at Florence, and is of a Madonna seated on a throne and surrounded by saints and angels. (Plate III.) The throne is not the Byzantine ivory seat of the Virgins of Cimabue, but is an Italian cathedra, very typical and richly ornamented with mosaics. The saints and angels are more freely grouped and gaze with intense love upon the Madonna, a well developed figure, majestically enveloped in the folds of the drapery. In the head we find a new beauty; this is truly a woman.



Fig. 44. — School of Orcagna. Detail of Triumph of Death.

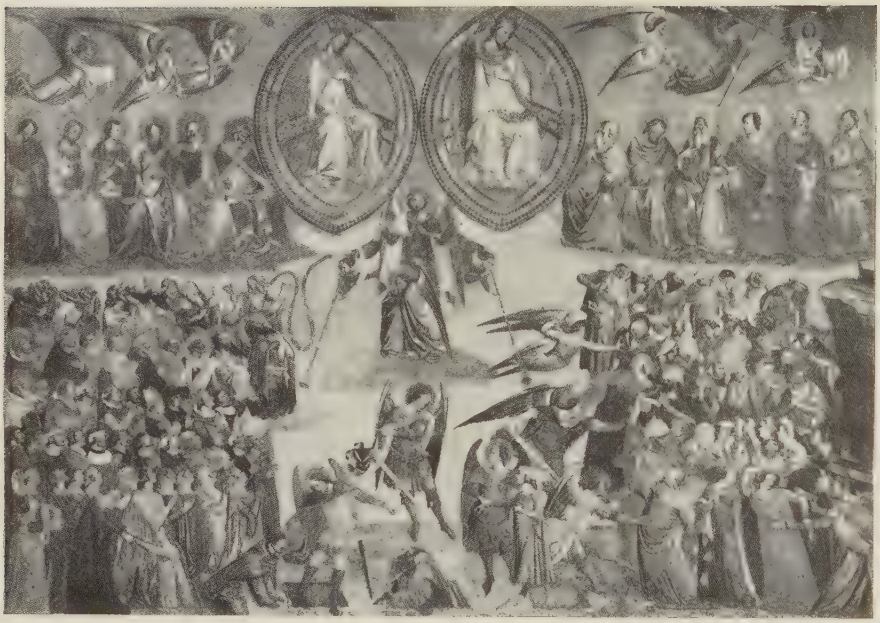


Fig. 45. — School of Orcagna. The Last Judgment. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

The plump neck and face remind us of the country girls of Tuscany with their natural elegance of bearing.

It is well known that Giotto worked at Padua with a number of pupils, and at Assisi we also see that it is the work of more than one person. His favorite seems to have been Taddeo Gaddi, who was later to paint unaided the Baroncelli Chapel in the church of Santa Croce at Florence. Here he repeated the scenes from the apocryphal Gospel of St. James, such as the story of Joachim, the birth of the Virgin and the presentation in the temple just as Giotto had represented them in the church of the Arena at Padua. The only improvement is that the architectural background is not so simple; otherwise the style is the same. Gaddi's work plainly shows that he was the heir and successor of Giotto, but it does not indicate any very great originality. Certainly Giottino, who was but a boy when his grandfather died, was a pupil of Gaddi as were the latter's two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni.

This generation was followed by Andrea di Firenze, Orcagna and the other Fourteenth-century painters who worked in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The reader will recall that the broad galleries of this cloister were filled with sarcophagi and antique marbles. The outer walls were not broken by windows and consequently lent themselves admirably to the painting of large frescoes. The decoration of this cemetery lasted for more than a century. The work was begun by Giotto's pupils who painted the east wall and completed in the Fifteenth Century by Florentine and Sienese artists of the school of Benozzo Gozzoli and Simone Martini. Of these last painters we shall have more to say further on. But the frescoes of the east gallery should be mentioned as examples of the

work of the second generation after Giotto. To Andrea di Cione, better known as Orcagna, Vasari ascribes the cycle in the Campo Santo comprising the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment. Today it is doubted that the frescoes are the work of Orcagna. Their free but rude style strongly indicates that they are not from the hand that executed the beautifully finished composition of a similar character in S. Maria Novella at Florence.



Fig. 46. — Angel. Detail of Last Judgment. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

Orcagna came of a family of artists. We do not know the exact date of his birth. His father was the well known Florentine goldsmith, Cione. The second of a family of four sons, he received in baptism the name of Arcagnolo, archangel, which his contemporaries transformed into Orcagna, a name so famous that it may be counted second only to that of Giotto. With the universality of genius so characteristic of the Renaissance, he was an equally great architect and sculptor, but we are concerned here with the painter only. Time has dealt unkindly with his works, of which only a few are extant and these have been disfigured by moisture and the hand of the renovator until there is little left except the powerful composition and a style whose charm is visible even in the ruins.

His first notable work was a life of the Virgin, a series of frescoes which decorated the choir of S. Maria Novella and which he undertook in behalf of the Ricci family. Vasari tells us that they were so novel and beautiful that a century later, when the dampness had spoiled them, Ghirlandajo needed only to follow the original composition to produce one of the most impressive paintings of his age. We have, however, in the Strozzi Chapel of the same church an example of his own work which confirms this report. Although produced in collaboration with his brother, Bernardo, the portion which is from his hand is easily recognizable. These frescoes were painted in 1350 and covered the entire wall-space; they represent the Last Judgment together with Paradise and Hell. The middle wall is broken by a Gothic window, and around it the artist grouped his figures in an ingenious composition. The representation of Christ, the Judge, enthroned on a cloud in a halo of rays, the delicacy and tenderness of the kneeling figures and the attitude of the saints round about, all go to show that Orcagna was the master of Fra Angelico.

The spirit of his painting is inspired by Dante, whose topography he fol-



Fig. 47.— The angel of the Last Judgment. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

lowed in depicting the realms of the blessed and the damned. It was the first such illustration on a large scale and antedates those of the Campo Santo at Pisa. For years to come this work furnished the inspiration to the book illustrations of the Divine Comedy and was faithfully imitated by Botticelli.

The frescoes of the Campo Santo are of unequal merit and much damaged. They present to our mind an epic of the mediaeval imagination. A festive company of young people return from the chase with their dogs and falcons. A troubadour entertains them with his songs and little love gods flutter about them waving torches (figures 43 and 44). The entire picture indicates an abandon to the easy life of the senses, but on the other side another cavalcade of cavaliers and ladies crossing the landscape encounter three coffins with three bodies long dead which remind them of the triumph of death. The fresco portraying the Last Judgment (figs 45 to 47) and containing a Dantesque representation of Hell is immediately following.

At the end of the Fourteenth Century, but belonging to this period, we find the magnificent work of Andrea di Firenze, a monumental series of frescoes which decorate the walls and the ceiling of the Cappella degli Spagnuoli in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella. On one of the walls of this vast rectangular chapel is a scene of the Crucifixion which is certainly a beautiful and animated composition of a genuinely original character. Opposite is another and newer theme; this is the Church Triumphant defended by a pack of black and white dogs, an allegorical symbol of the Dominican order of friars. The sheep reposing at the feet of their shepherds signify the true believers under the leadership of the Church. Another composition contains the nine figures personifying the liberal arts and the nine patriarchs and philosophers corresponding to each. Cicero, for example, is seated at the feet of Rhetoric; Tubal Cain, at those of Music; St. Augustine, at those of Dogmatic Theology. Justinian is associated with Jurisprudence and Pythagoras with Arithmetic (fig. 48).

The repertory was enlarged somewhat by the Florentine artists of the latter part of the century, but they remained faithful to the principles of composition established by Giotto. The technique of this master held back the painters of Florence to such an extent that we find no progress until we come to Massaccio, another innovator. The artists themselves were aware of their lack of origi-



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Fig. 48. — Andrea di Firenze. The Liberal Arts. *(S. Maria Novella.)* Florence.

nality. Sacchetti tells the story of how a number of Florentine painters were lunching together at the monastery of S. Miniato when Orcagna began a discussion as to who was the best painter since Giotto's time. A good many names were mentioned, but Taddeo Gaddi, who was also present, put an end to the argument by remarking: "Certainly there have been great painters since Giotto, but art is every day becoming worse." The reputation of Giotto continued to grow and is growing yet. When Petrarch died in 1374 he left to his friend, Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, a Madonna painted by Giotto as a precious legacy. "A wonderful piece of work of which the ignorant might overlook the beauty, but which the learned must regard with amazement," wrote Petrarch in his will. Boccaccio also relates an anecdote of Giotto in which the latter is called the greatest painter in the whole world. It is evident, therefore, that notwithstanding the rapid progress of the Renaissance, all the writers from Villani down to Vasari considered Giotto to be the greatest master of the past.

Summary. — About the end of the Thirteenth Century the Renaissance in the field of Italian painting was begun by a Roman painter named Pietro Cavallini, but it was due principally to the efforts of Cimabue and Giotto of Florence. We still have the mosaics of Cavallini in S. Maria and S. Cecilia in Trastevere at Rome. He went to Assisi where he worked in the church just constructed over the tomb of St. Francis. Here, too, Cimabue painted a Virgin with angels. Except for this we have by Cimabue only two altars with representations of the Virgin. One is in Florence and the other at Paris. His pupil, Giotto, was of plebeian origin and temperament, but endowed with great creative powers. At Assisi he painted a series of twenty-eight frescoes representing the life of St. Francis on the lateral walls of the Upper Church. Afterward he went to Padua where he decorated the chapel of the Arena with scenes from the Gospels, and the same subjects, together with scenes from the life of St. Peter, were painted by him in the Vatican. The great Florentine master also went to Naples. In Florence he decorated the chapel of the Bargello and the Franciscan church of Santa Croce. We find Giotto's pupils copying the themes he had created. They employed the same figures, but lacked the power of expression of the master. His immediate successor was Taddeo Gaddi, an excellent painter, who worked with his sons Agnolo and Giovanni, and Giottino, the grandson of Giotto.

The third generation of Florentine painters was still strongly affected by the influence of Giotto. Among them, Orcagna and a number of others painted the frescoes on one of the walls of

the Campo Santo at Pisa. Andrea di Firenze, another, was the author of the great compositions in the Cappella degli Spagnuoli of S. Maria Novella.

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Fig. 49. — Giotto. Pope Boniface VIII proclaiming the first jubilee. *(Lateran.)* Rome.



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Fig. 50. — Duccio di Buoninsegna. Central panel of the altar-piece of the cathedral of Siena. *(Opera del Duomo.)*

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL OF SIENA. — DUCCIO, SIMONE MARTINI, THE LORENZETTI.

Most of the Italian cathedrals have a small museum called the Opera del Duomo in which we find a collection of precious objects of art. These are no longer used in connection with the service, sometimes because in modern times the form of worship has been changed, or because they are considered too valuable to be used every day by the ordinary clergy. Among other things, the little museum of the cathedral of Siena possesses a series of paintings on wood which in former times composed the high altar of the church. These pictures have an irresistible attraction for all who behold them; indeed, few works of art have the remarkable charm of these mutilated fragments of the old altar of Siena (fig. 50). It was painted by a local master by the name of Duccio, a contemporary of Cimabue and Giotto. At the feet of the Virgin who occupies the place of honor we find his signature accompanied by the inscription: *Mater Sancta Dei, sis caussa Senis requiei, sis Ducio vita, te quia pinxit ita.*

His prayer to the Queen of Heaven for peace for his native city was no idle one, for during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries the Italian cities were ruthlessly destroying one another. Filled with bitter hate they were constantly forming alliances and confederations with the object of annihilating their neighbours and rivals. Siena, that quiet town the peaceful life of which is hardly affected today by her crowds of tourists, was competing with Florence in the early Fourteenth Century for the hegemony of Tuscany. The Florentines had been defeated in the battle of Montaperto which Dante mentions as a terrible humiliation for his city, and as a result of this victory Siena was now enjoying a

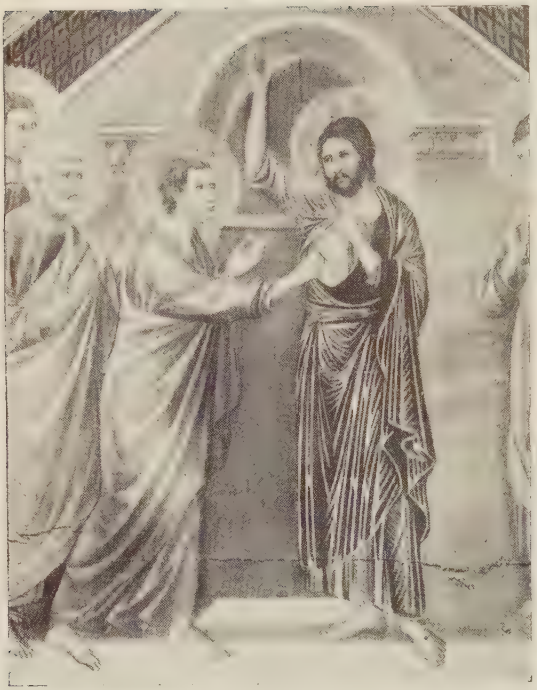


Fig. 51.—Duccio. Detail of the altar of Siena.
(Opera del Duomo.)

period of peace. The citizens of Siena took advantage of this tranquility to push on the work on the cathedral, and they commissioned Duccio, who was already a painter of note, to execute a new altar-piece to take the place of the old "Madonna with the large eyes." This miraculous patron saint, brought along in a cart, had protected the Sienese at the Battle of Montaperto. It may have been a Byzantine icon, but it was none the less venerated on that account. In any case it was now to occupy one of the lateral chapels. In a document of 1380 Duccio engages himself to work on a new icon for a salary of fifty soldi a day. The contract goes on to make all sorts of stipulations to cover any possible contingency of neglect. The great painter of Siena does not seem to have been as conscientious in carrying out his agreements as he was skilful with his brush.

Duccio worked for two years on the new altar-piece, and on the 11th of June in the year 1310 the painting was taken from the artist's studio and carried to the cathedral amid the jubilation of the populace. Indeed, the fascination of this picture seems to have been felt by the inhabitants of Siena from the time it left the hands of the artist. "And this day," we read in a local cronicle, "was devoted by everyone to prayer and the giving of alms." The shops were closed, and there was a procession of the city magistrates and other officials; even the women and children accompanied the altar to the cathedral amid the pealing of the bells, "as was fitting for so noble a painting as this altar-piece." Duccio's picture remained in the chancel of the cathedral until the Sixteenth Century, when the canons became discontented with the simple beauty of the great master's icon and substituted for it a rich marble altar. For two centuries it remained in the lumber-rooms of the cathedral, but the great tablet was finally brought back and hung on the wall of one of the chapels, and it is now in the Cathedral Museum. It is not complete, however. Owing to the vicissitudes through which it has passed, some portions of it were sold and fell into the possession of the Museum of Berlin (fig. 52).

Now let us see what is this picture which is the master-piece of the Siena school. In the centre the Virgin is seated upon a marble throne surrounded by

angels and saints (fig. 50). Mary was more than the patron saint of this city; she was its Queen. In like manner the Florentines later proclaimed Christ the King of their city, and the citizens of ancient Siena had placed the government of their town under the loving sceptre of the Virgin Mary. The Council of Nine administered in her name. On Duccio's icon, the Virgin is surrounded by other patron saints of the city: John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, St. Agnes, St. Catharine and the four holy martyrs of Siena. All these personages which occupy the foreground of the icon are more beautiful, finer and more aristocratic than those of the great Florentine master, Giotto, although both these painters constitute a parallel. Duccio is still closer to the Byzantine school, but instead of rendering the figures of the saints and angels in the dry, precise hieratic manner of the East, he animates them with a gentle devotion that is something new. Duccio's angels, which form a group of twenty in the Siena picture, have a new and marvelous grace. Those behind the Virgin's throne incline their head over their hands which rest upon the marble back, that they, too, may contemplate the divine figure of the Queen of Heaven. The latter is the least original of any in the painting; it is the Byzantine type of Madonna, only somewhat enlivened, much as Cimabue, the Florentine painter, had rendered her. The personality of Duccio, which for a century characterized the Siena school, is to be seen chiefly in the high-bred sweetness with which the angels, saints, knights and martyrs express their adoration and devotion.



Fig. 52. — Duccio. Portion of the Altar of Siena. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

The back of this great altar-piece was painted as well, for the altar stood out by itself and could be seen from either side. Also the wood was thick enough to be sawed in two, so we now find in the Cathedral Museum the reverse of the great tablet as a separate picture. This side of the altar-piece is also very interesting, for it shows the Byzantine derivation of his art and how he modified it by giving it a dominant note of distinguished beauty. Here we do not find, as on the front, a general composition of large figures. It is divided by straight lines into panels containing scenes from the Passion. The iconography of these scenes is almost Byzantine (fig. 51). Duccio did little more than copy the models brought from the Orient in the various compartments of which the



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Fig. 53.—Duccio. Rucellai Madonna.
(S. Maria Novella.) FLORENCE.

annual festivals were represented, or calendars with evangelical scenes. The Siena master reproduced the representations of the Crucifixion and of the Sepulchre, and he copied the figures of the Byzantine tablets, outlining the folds of their garments in gold and leaving effects of light and shadow out entirely. His grouping of the personages was the traditional one of the evangelical scenes in the Greek manuscripts and Byzantine calendars. Nevertheless he puts into these figures his own spirit and elegance. Their gestures are at once lifelike as well as noble and tranquil.

It is interesting to compare this series of evangelical scenes with those which Giotto painted in the chapel at Padua. In both the models are the types of Oriental Christian art, and in both these are rejuvenated by the new spirit of these Italian cities due to the revival of learning and art. But Giotto and Duccio were animated by very different sentiments when they put life into these figures, and each was to be the founder of a great school of art. Giotto was a son of the people, frank, natural and enthusiastic. We see these qualities not only in the story of St. Francis at Assisi, but also in the popular illustrations of the Gospels which decorate the chapel at Padua. He always painted in his figures with the utmost candor, giving them an expression of pain or tenderness that was entirely spontaneous. Indeed, sometimes Giotto's personages seem to lose their composure and assume exaggerated attitudes indicating grief and pain. The same themes rendered by Duccio gain in delicacy what they lose in strength; in any case they are not to be confused with the poor soulless dolls in the Byzantine pictures.

It is hardly likely that Duccio was familiar with Giotto's works in the chapel at Padua. From the very beginning both took very different courses in their



Fig. 54. — Simone Martini. The Virgin of the Council. *(Palazzo Pubblico.)* Siena.

revival of art. Although during the Fourteenth Century the schools of Florence and Siena developed along parallel lines, each in its own way, the Florentine school of painting, strongly influenced by Giotto's emotional interpretation of life, progressed little. Nevertheless there was a spirit of freedom which left the way open to later developments, and consequently the Renaissance ended by being only Florentine during all the Fifteenth Century. The Siena school, on the other hand, although in the Fourteenth Century it had so excellent a master as Simone Martini, died of inanition. Its figures, confined by its atmosphere of noble serenity, finally wearied the painters of this school. After they had copied Duccio for two generations, Sienese art could advance no further.

We have dwelt at such length on Duccio's altar because it is not only the first great work of a school of painting, but it is also a summary of that school and contains all the qualities and defects which we shall always find in its later work. Few other paintings of this master have come down to us. The archives and accounts of the city inform us that he painted there for some years before he executed his famous Madonna, and it is probable that the little pictures of the retable in the National Gallery at London are also his work.

Only a few years ago an important work was identified as being from the hand of Duccio. This is the Virgin with angels in S. Maria Novella at Florence which Vasari and a number of other authorities had previously ascribed to Cimabue. But there is no longer any doubt; Duccio, before executing the monumental composition of the Siena altar, engaged in a contract which he signed in April, 1325, to paint a Virgin with angels for S. Maria Novella in Florence. This must be the one in the Rucellai Chapel which still passes among the uninitiated



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Fig. 55. — Simone Martini. Portion of the fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico. SIENA.

as the work of Cimabue (fig. 53). As a matter of fact, in this picture the artist does not as yet display his marked personality. We can understand that the Byzantine model which both Cimabue and Duccio imitated in their seated Virgins might well lead to some confusion between their works.

Duccio had a famous pupil who, like Giotto, spread the style of his school beyond the Tuscan frontier and even outside of Italy. Through him the Sienese school extended over a wider territory than did the Florentine. In spite of all that Vasari tells us, Giotto never went beyond the Alps, while we know that this pupil of Duccio, Simone Martini, worked in the palace of the Popes at Avignon as well as at Assisi, Rome and Naples. In the works of Simone Martini at Avignon we find the first invasion of France by the forms of the Tuscan Renaissance.

We know little personally of Simone Martini. Vasari, who briefly recounts his life among the other biographies, shows little enthusiasm for the Sienese painter, and the few circumstances he does record are for the most part erroneous. Something has been learned from the documents of the archives, some of the details of his work and of his family life. His name even is not correctly given by Vasari who calls him Simone Memmi, confusing him with his brother-in-law who was also a painter and collaborated with him. Indeed, they both signed several pictures. Simone also worked with his brother, Donato, but both the latter and Lippo Memmi were but mediocre artists compared with the great master, Simone.

His friendship with Petrarch is well known; meeting one another at Avignon and both being from Tuscany, an acquaintance naturally followed. The Sienese artist painted the portrait of Laura, the friend of the poet, and Petrarch tells us in his immortal verses:

Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto...

The great poet's friendship for Simone Martini is important in connection with the work of this artist, for it goes far toward explaining the spirit of the

Sienese painter, just as Dante's eulogy serves to bring before us the nature of Giotto's troubled soul. In the history of the Renaissance Petrarch represents a stage of humanism above that of Dante. His spirit is more refined and he takes pleasure in the tranquil and somewhat aristocratic type of beauty, which is precisely the sort produced first by Duccio at Siena and later perfected and spread to other parts of the world by his pupil, Simone Martini, from the international cultural centre which the court at Avignon then constituted.



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Fig. 56.—Simone Martini. St. Louis, King of France, and St. Louis of Anjou. *(Lower Church.)* Assisi.

The first work by this painter with which we are familiar, however, was executed in Siena and for the Palazzo Pubblico. The building had just been completed, a colossal monument and a testimony to the greatness of Siena in the early Fourteenth Century. Its magnificent façade still occupies two sides of the great square, and its rectangular tower, more than a hundred yards in height, dominates the entire valley. The latter is higher even than that of the rival city of Florence, but it is very similar in its general lines. Simone Martini was commissioned to paint in the Sala delle Balestre of this building a picture of the Virgin who was regarded as the Queen of the city. Here she should preside over the deliberations of this august body. The inscription reads, *Salve Virgo Senam veterem quam signat amenam* (figs. 54 and 55). She is surrounded by the same patron saints as those on the altar-piece Duccio painted for the cathedral. At her feet are kneeling angels who offer crystal vessels of roses. This Virgin is not the delicate semi-Byzantine silhouette of Duccio's altar, but a lady of elegance, fair like the girls we still see in the country about Siena with their curly hair, soft eyes and sensitive lips. Like the French Virgins, she wears a royal crown; Duccio followed the Byzantine example and his Virgins have no crown. Her tunic and mantle are of the fine texture that we still find in the examples of Fourteenth-century fabrics. The Child is a graceful, fair haired *bambino* giving a blessing with one hand while the other holds a scroll containing a verse from the Bible. The patron saints hold a large canopy over the group. The throne is Gothic and not like the antique ivory thrones in Duccio's and Cimabue's pictures, nor does it resemble the marble and mosaic furniture in the

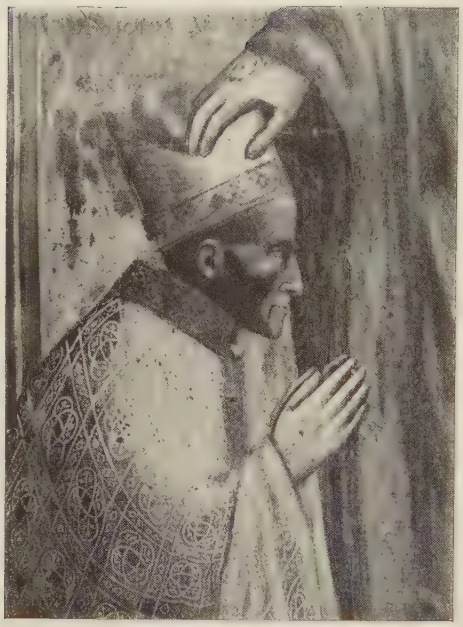


Fig. 57. — Simone Martini. A sainted bishop. *(Lower Church.)* Assisi.

Roman style which Giotto chose for his Virgins. The Sienese painter seems to display from the very first a certain preference for French Gothic art; indeed, he was influenced by it before he came to know it well during his sojourn at Avignon.

The saints and apostles surrounding the Virgin of the Council are less expressive and individual than they would have been if Giotto had painted them. They preserve much of Duccio's treatment with their aristocratic calm and easy bearing; there is nothing impetuous about them. Simone Martini painted this picture in 1315, that is, four years after Duccio had completed his altar-piece, so he must have been an artist of note to have this commission entrusted to him instead of its being given to Duccio. After it was completed he probably went to Naples, but in 1324 he returned to his native city where he was married. He evidently continued to reside there until 1328, for he accepted a number of commissions, among them the portrait of Guidoriccio, the Sienese commander who had recently overcome the towns of Montemassi and Sassoforte. This fresco is still one of the most interesting works of art to be found in the Palazzo Pubblico. We see the two towns on the crests of the hills, and at the foot, the Sienese camp. The corpulent commander mounted on his horse presents a gallant appearance, standing out from the simply sketched landscape against a sky of intense blue.

Except for these commissions from the city, Simone worked little in Siena. His temperament soon brought him into contact with the Angevine princes of Naples who were men of culture and art connoisseurs. This French line of rulers was founded by Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis; to him the Pope had granted the Kingdom of Naples which had previously belonged to the Swabian house. The Neapolitan house produced a number of illustrious princes and some saints; even its princesses were often women of unusual piety and aristocratic distinction. One of these kings, Robert, was the friend of Petrarch. He had come to the throne through the abdication of his brother, Louis, who had retired into the Franciscan Order and acquired such a reputation for sanctity that he had been canonized. King Robert wished to commemorate the saintly brother to whom he owed his throne, and commissioned Simone Martini to paint a picture of him which is still preserved on one of the altars of S. Lor-



Fig. 58. — Simone Martini. The Assumption of the Virgin. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

enzo at Naples. The saintly prince, in the garb of a Franciscan, bears in his elegantly gloved right hand a bishop's crosier while with the other he offers Robert the crown. Two angels descending from above crown the saint with a celestial diadem. Both he and King Robert are dressed in garments of delicately figured textiles as is the Virgin of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena.

This connection of the Sienese painter with the Neapolitan royal family led to his being sent to Assisi to work on the painting of the basilica, particularly on the portions of the crypt which were still undecorated. The Upper Church, as we have already noted, was decorated in the late Thirteenth Century by Pietro Cavallini, Giotto, Cimabue and some of their disciples, and now the Sienese school was also to contribute to the embellishment of the church of St. Francis at Assisi. Duccio, the master of the school, did nothing here; he was the most local of all the early Renaissance masters. It remained for his pupil, Simone Martini, to represent the artists of Siena at Assisi. As has already been noted, after the Upper Church was decorated they proceeded to paint the crypt which was of the same size as the basilica above. Giotto commenced the frescoes of the Lower Church, and now Simone was entrusted by his Neapolitan patrons, friends of the Order of St. Francis, to decorate the chapel of S. Martino with four scenes from the life of the saint. We see St. Martin giving his cloak to a poor man; the vision in which Christ appeared to him as he lay



Fig. 59.—Simone Martini. The Annunciation. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* Florence.

sleeping. Here the Saviour is surrounded by fair-haired soft-cheeked angels like those in the fresco of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. There is also the scene in which the saint appears as an armed knight, and finally his renunciation before the emperor's tent of his knightly charge for the cross which he holds in his hand. The architecture and landscapes of these scenes are still childishly simple. The chief merit in the art of Simone is in the calm poise and dignity of his figures. On the entrance-wall of the chapel the upper part is painted with beautiful figures of saints set within trefoil arches. These personages are the most highly venerated of the period; they are St. Francis, St. Anthony, St. Catharine and Mary Magdalene, besides the saints of the Neapolitan royal family which donated these decorations. The latter are St. Louis of France, St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Isabelle (figs. 56 and 57). The last, particularly, is a beautiful woman of rank, her youthful form enveloped in a large mantle. Her lovely golden hair is parted; indeed, she is in every respect one of those devout princesses of Anjou who were called "the queens of Jerusalem and Sicily, humble

daughters and servants of the blessed St. Francis." Such a one was the wife of King Robert who together with her husband showered gifts on the basilica. Their arms, with the fleurs-de-lis, could not be absent from the temple erected over St. Francis' tomb, and in Simone they found an artist to their taste. The Florentine painters of Giotto's school, with their agitated style, never would have satisfied the desires of the French princes of Naples.

Another picture that is unquestionably the work of Simone is the fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa representing the Assumption of the Virgin. Surrounded by angels, she is set in an oval aureole, and her throne is like that of the Virgin in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (fig. 58).



Fig. 60.—Simone Martini. The Virgin. *(Museum of Siena.)*

As has been noted, Simone Martini also worked at Avignon, and it was here that he made his will and died in 1344, seven years after the death of Giotto. There is every reason for believing that his stay there was long and profitable. Unfortunately the Papal Palace was used as barracks for many years; its decorations are badly damaged and the walls whitewashed. Only in the halls of a tower which served as a chapel do we find some remains of frescoes which appear to be the work of Simone Martini, and these, too, are in bad condition (fig. 68).



Fig. 61.—Simone Martini. Altar-triptych in the Accademia delle Arti. FLORENCE.

We have only described his fresco-paintings, but Simone must have executed many paintings on wood. There is the altar at Naples and another signed by him in the Uffizi Gallery. These paintings were easily transported and contributed greatly to the wide-spread popularity of his art. His influence was enormous, and justly so, in the development of European painting everywhere during



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Fig. 62. — Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Fresco in the Sala della Pace. Peace. *(Palazzo Pubblico.)* SIENA.

the entire Fourteenth Century. The altar in the Uffizi is most beautiful; it represents the Annunciation of the Virgin and is the best known of Simone's works. The Virgin, enveloped in a mantle, draws back in her chair as though astounded at the angel's message. Her attitude is that of a youthful princess whose rank is not hidden by her humble garments. The angel is an androgynous figure bearing a palm; the floating mantle suggests his sudden appearance which startles the Virgin (fig. 59). These two figures in the Annunciation contrast strongly with those of the saints on either side which are probably the work of Simone's brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi, who also signed the painting.

After Simone, his brother, Donato, and his brother-in-law, Memmi, we find a third generation upholding with dignity the style characteristic of the Sienese school. It is represented chiefly by the two brothers, Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. These men preserved the softness and delicacy of the Sienese school, but combined with them some of Giotto's characteristics. The Lorenzetti also worked in their native city of Siena as well as at Assisi. The decoration of the basilica of St. Francis was one of the chief preoccupations of Italian art in the Fourteenth Century. Pietro died young, but Ambrogio became an illustrious artist, although he was somewhat infected by Giotto's spirit. In Vasari's biography we have a picture which seems like an anticipation of such poet-artists as Leonardo and Michelangelo: "From his youth," writes Vasari, "Ambrogio applied himself to letters. These were the companions who aided him in his paintings."

Ambrogio's first works were the great frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. These are in the Sala dei Novi (Sala della Pace), where the uninterrupted surface of the great lateral walls was well suited to a work of this character. On one side he painted an allegorical picture representing good government with all its virtues and the advantages of peace. He depicts Siena and its province enjoying the benefits of order and prosperity. On the other side is a parallel composition showing the disastrous effects of bad government. Both paintings are very complicated and are filled with symbolical figures. Good government, for example, is exemplified by a colossal personification of the city



Fig. 63. — Lorenzetti. Safety. *(Palazzo Pubblico.)* Siena.



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Fig. 61. - A. Lorenzetti. Franciscan missionaries martyred in the Sudan. *(S. Francis.)* Siena.

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Fig. 65. — Stained glass in the Lower Church. Assisi.

dressed in imperial robes, much as though it were a representation of the Empire. But the letters, C. S. C. V. (Commune Senatum Civitas Virginis), permit no doubt as to its being a masculine personification of the city of Siena. Beside this gigantic figure are the virtues of good government, Magnanimity, Moderation, Justice, Prudence, Power, Peace and Safety. The most admirable figure in the composition is that of Peace which has given its name to the hall. A young woman reclines upon a couch. She is simply dressed in a long tunic and her blond tresses are crowned with ears of corn. Above is the inscription PAX (fig. 62). At the feet of these figures we see two lines of citizens in amicable intercourse, an allusion to the two parties into which the populace was divided. Beyond, in another large space, is a view of Siena with a group of patrician maidens dancing before the city-gate. There are also merchants on horseback and farmers returning from the fields; also a landscape showing the gentle hills about Siena with their olive groves and vinyards, and Safety flies through the air, raising in her left hand a gallows upon which an evil-doer is hanging (fig. 63).

On the opposite wall is represented bad government accompanied by the vices and defects which characterize it. There are Tyranny, Pride, Ostentation, Treason, Cruelty, etc. Although the entire composition seems to reflect the mind of a thinker and sociologist rather that of an artist, nevertheless, we must remember that Giotto painted in the chapel of the Bargello a scene of *il comune come era rubato*...

The finest works of the Lorenzetti are the frescoes in the church of S. Francesco at Siena. Here they not only carry on the artistic traditions of Siena in a worthy manner, but they also appear as innovators. In this Franciscan church, not only the well-known life of the founder was to be represented, but also the stories of other saints of the Order as well. The latter were entirely new scenes and the manner in which they were conceived by the last great masters of Siena is most admirable. In one St. Louis of Anjou comes before the Pope to swear obedience. A number of cardinals are present at the ceremony, and their individual expressions are interesting. The king, the father of the sainted prince, is seated among them. Behind the seats of these personages are groups of knights and ladies witnessing the scene. Another picture represents the first Franciscan missionaries who were martyred in the Sudan (fig. 64), and still another, the monks who were killed at Ceuta by the sultan of Morocco. These



Virgin and Child. School of Siena. *(Cathedral of Barcelona.)*

abound in pathos and show the influence of Giotto's school.

By the end of the Fourteenth Century only two courses remained open to the artists of Siena. One was to begin anew the study of nature and real life as Giotto had done; the other was to peacefully expire in the atmosphere of profound calm which had been created by Duccio and Simone Martini. The latter was what occurred. The attempts of the Lorenzetti to put life into that aristocratic art did not go any further than their own efforts. After them we find a series of painters lacking in inspiration who copied the traditional types of languid blond Madonnas on the altars of their churches and in their council-halls. Nevertheless, these icons of the later Sienese artists, such as Taddeo di Bartoli, Giovanni di Paolo, Sano di Pietro and Andrea Vanni, did much to disseminate certain principles of the Italian Renaissance which would have remained unknown if the new painting had originated solely in the Florentine school. A painting on wood that is very characteristic of the last period of the Sienese school is that of the Virgin and Child which was presented to the cathedral of Barcelona by King Martin. It is still preserved in good condition in one of the halls of the archives of the Cabildo. (Plate IV.)

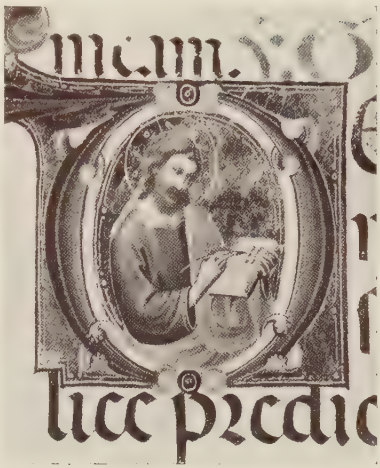


Fig. 66. — Simone Martini. Miniature in the Missal of St. Peter. *(Vatican.)*

The beautiful stained glass windows in the Lower Church at Assisi also seem to be the work of Sienese artists. The French technique of stained glass was doubtless introduced into Italy by Simone Martini and his pupils. At Naples as well as at Avignon the glass-workers of Northern France appear to have been patronized (fig. 65).



Fig. 67. — Simone Martini. Miniature in the Missal of St. Peter. *(Vatican.)*

The aristocratic style of Siena was admirably adapted to miniatures and the ornamentation of books. The Sienese school of miniaturists is to be distinguished from those of Florence and Bologna; these three were the most important of the Fourteenth Century. Among the beautiful works of the Sienese miniature-painters are the famous Missal of St. Peter in the Vatican, ascribed to Martini himself (figs. 66 and 67), and the Virgil in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan which once belonged to Petrarch. In the latter the poet tells us in hexameters that it was painted by Simone Martini.

Summary. — Beginning with the end of the Thirteenth Century, we find at Siena, a Tuscan city lying to the south of Florence and Pisa, a school of painting which developed in complete independence of that of Florence. The finest work of the first period of this school is the altar-piece of the cathedral which was painted by Duccio di Buoninsegna. It is now in the cathedral museum. The Rucellai Madonna in S. Maria Novella at Florence appears to be another of the works of this painter, although Vasari ascribes it to Cimabue. Duccio was succeeded at Siena by Simone Martini, who painted a Madonna with angels in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. He was commissioned by the king of Naples to paint a number of frescoes at Assisi, and he worked on the decorations of the palace of the Popes at Avignon. Unfortunately most of the latter have been destroyed. He appears to have also painted many altar-pieces and the like; those which have been preserved are of unusual beauty. We might cite the altar in S. Lorenzo at Naples and the Annunciation in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. Simone Martini was the most elegant of all the Italian painters. He put the finishing touch to the distinguished and aristocratic tone so characteristic of Duccio's art. Another generation of artists succeeded Simone Martini the most prominent of whom were the brothers Lorenzetti. After them, the Sienese school stagnated in a banal mannerism and was exhausted by the end of the Fifteenth Century. Florence was now predominant in all matters of art. Nevertheless, owing to Martini's delicacy of style and the fact that he was a long time in Avignon, the art of Siena became popular outside of Italy, and the painters of Northern France, Provence and Catalonia gained their first knowledge of the Renaissance from this source. Then, too, the Siena style was more easily imitated than that of Giotto and his pupils.

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Fig. 68. — Simone Martini. Frescoes in the palace of the Popes at Avignon.



Fig. 69. — Loggia dei Lanzi. Florence.

CHAPTER IV

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. THE DOME OF THE CATHEDRAL AT FLORENCE. — BRUNELLESCHI AND HIS PUPILS. LEONE BATTISTA ALBERTI AT MANTUA, RIMINI AND ROME. — LAURANA. DECORATION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

About the end of the year 1417, Martin V, a Roman patrician of the Colonna family who had been elected Pope by the Council of Constance, decided to transfer the Pontifical Court from Avignon back to Rome. This far-reaching act was to make Italy the centre of the Humanists who were coming into their own. As long as the Popes remained in Avignon, the relations between Italian culture and the French Gothic, or in other words mediaeval, ideas continued to retard the course of the Renaissance. Martin V went first to Mantua and then to Florence, awaiting a propitious time to enter the ancient capital. The condition of Rome at that time, abandoned to the local warring factions of the city, would be little to the taste of a court such as that of the Popes at Avignon. Martin V and Eugene IV, the first Pontiffs after the return of the court to Rome, were able to do little more than reestablish their authority in the city; the surrounding country continued to remain subject to the local nobility. This condition of affairs continued to occupy the attention of the Popes during all the Fifteenth Century; but finally the boldness and energy of Alexander VI, the second Borgia Pope, put an end to the arbitrary power of the great Roman families who had so long defied the papal authority. For this reason Rome, which was later to become such an important art centre, played but a minor



Fig. 70. — Doorway of the cathedral of Florence.

part during the Fifteenth Century in the early history of the Renaissance.

For more than a century the honor of having begun and promoted this great intellectual and artistic movement belonged almost exclusively to Florence. Early in the Fifteenth Century this city imposed its supremacy upon all Tuscany from the high valley of the Casentino to Pisa and Siena, conquered rivals, and also to Arezzo, Cortona, Lucca and Pistoja, which became, intellectually at least, merely Florentine provinces. The artistic school of Florence was by this time in full swing. Beginning with the time when Arnolfo brought to his city the traditions of the Pisan sculptors, we see Florence in the van of progress. It was from this city that artists went to Naples and various parts of Northern Italy to spread the new sculptural style. In the field of painting the art of Siena, refined and aristocratic as it was, had been little more than an episode; but the Florentine pupils of Giotto continued to advance, for they continued to imitate nature, a course that rarely fails to achieve results.

Architecture, nevertheless, resisted these innovations; the Gothic style persisted, although it was the hybrid Gothic employed by Giovanni Pisano in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Indeed, it was Gothic only in so far as its elements belonged to that style; its marble casing and its proportions were unlike the French Gothic features so popular in other parts of Europe.

The greatest work of the period in Florence was the cathedral. Erected on the site of the old church of S. Reparata, it was dedicated to the Virgin under the title of S. Maria del Fiore. If it were not for Brunelleschi's dome, which we shall discuss later, it would be



Brunelleschi. Interior of S. Spirito. Florence.



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Brunelleschi. Interior of S. Lorenzo. Florence.

nothing more than a vast edifice, grey and cold inside and richly decorated with marbles on the outside. How different from the noble composition of the cathedral of Pisa with its rythmical arcades! On the Florentine structure we see only compartments and still more compartments covering its vast wall-surfaces. Only on the lateral doorways do we find the graceful reliefs of the Pisan school; they fill the high tympana above the rather unusual pointed arches (fig. 70).



Fig. 71. — Baptistery, cathedral and campanile. FLORENCE.

Beside the cathedral rises the Campanile which is also of marble. Here, too, we still find the pointed arch over the windows which are divided by column-mullions (fig. 71). Tradition ascribes the structure to Giotto himself, and it is supposed that the great painter carved some of the reliefs on the base. Certainly they are in his style. But the Campanile of Florence is a rather mysterious building; we know little of its history, and it seems most unlikely that a master such as Giotto, busied with countless tasks, would have found time to direct the construction of so important a structure. But whoever its architect may have been, this belfry is one of the gems of European architecture. Every element is skilfully disposed in such a manner as to achieve an effect of grace and beauty. The handsome square tower is harmoniously divided into a series of horizontal zones. First comes the low base with its reliefs; above is a broader zone, also ornamented with sculptures. Then a story is lighted with windows and higher up are more windows. At the top is a large airy window surmounted by the cornice of the roof. The effect of this marvelous tower is indescribable; the proportions of the zones which divide its erect mass are of such elegance that only by viewing it can we begin to appreciate its charm.

The windows of the tower are still pointed, but in the famous portico opposite the Palazzo Vecchio we already begin to see round arches resting upon what is almost a parody of a classical entablature with its Corinthian capitals. This is the Loggia dei Lanzi (fig. 69), and in spite of its singular beauty, we can readily understand that a hybrid art of this sort would not long satisfy those select spirits who were studying and trying to imitate the work of the ancient world. Every day they were discovering new manuscripts and becoming more and more interested in classical history and mythology. After so many centuries Greek was again being studied in Western Europe. The influence of



Fig. 72. — Portrait of Filippo Brunelleschi.
(Cathedral of Florence.)

this group of artists and scholars began to be felt in every class of society, and as architecture is the most democratic of all the arts, it was natural that an innovation of a monumental character was ardently desired. This accounts for the fact that in 1420 the most important work of the period was confided to a young and enthusiastic artist who, although he had won but little fame, was noted for his love for antiquity. The task was that of completing the cathedral with the dome that had already been planned for the crossing of the church. Vasari relates many anecdotes of the architect of this dome, Filippo Brunelleschi. He had journeyed to Rome to study the problem. There was a convention of architects from every part of Italy, and even foreign lands as well, to propose a solution. Finally there was a competition; collaboration with older masters was insisted upon; and a thousand other difficulties were encountered by Brunelleschi before he was able to put his project independently into execution (fig. 72).

Everything said by Vasari reflects the truth, but we know that the first directors of the work on the cathedral at Florence must have had in mind some sort of octagonal cupola or tower. Vasari's account would lead us to believe that all these architects met in order to decide whether to complete the church with a dome or with an octagonal tower like those of the monastic churches and Gothic cathedrals. As a matter of fact, the architects who planned S. Maria del Fiore intended to build a similar but somewhat larger cupola than those at Pisa and Siena. But this difference in size was what presented the main



Fig. 73. — Campanile and cathedral showing Brunelleschi's dome.
FLORENCE.



Fig. 74. — Brunelleschi's dome. *(Cathedral of Florence.)*

difficulty; the cupolas of Pisa and Siena had only the breadth of the nave, while that of Florence was to cover the width of the nave and two adjoining aisles. Its diameter was to be some one hundred and forty feet, which would offer a tremendous thrust and would be much more difficult to construct than the small domes of Pisa and Siena (figs. 73 and 74).

Until recent years people accepted without discussion the story of Vasari that Brunelleschi sought his inspiration for this difficult task in the ancient Roman domes and that in his study of the old ruins he had discovered the secret of how to construct a dome in the manner that the ancients accomplished



Fig. 75. — Brunelleschi. Foundling Hospital. FLORENCE.

it. This theory was pleasing to admirers of Roman art and made Brunelleschi's work appear as an example of the restoration of ancient civilization, not only in the other arts, but in every walk of life as well. The Pantheon was cited as the model of the dome at Florence, but the resemblance between these two cupolas went no further than their great size, for both had approximately the same diameter. Really, the Pantheon is a concrete dome, the hemispherical shell of which rests upon the great cylindrical walls in which it is half embodied, while the dome at Florence, which was to cover a church, was raised by Brunelleschi upon an octagonal drum and is an airy structure. The construction, too, is quite different; the vault of the Pantheon is a mass of brick, rubble and concrete, while at Florence the weight is divided. To offer less thrust, there is an inner dome lower than the outer one, and the latter, which rises in a pointed arch, serves as a buttress to the former. Brunelleschi's ingenious invention was doubtless inspired by mediaeval models. Certainly the system is much the same as that employed by the Cistercians; their Romanesque dome is set within a square or octagonal tower which also acts as a buttress in that it arrests the thrust of the dome contained within it.

Moreover, Brunelleschi joined the two domes by means of ribs at the corners, and he enclosed the inner dome with great rings composed of wooden beams connected by means of iron clasps. This combination of the dynamic system of the Middle Ages with the static one of antiquity is where the dome at Florence constitutes an innovation. Brunelleschi also introduced a method of construction without the use of heavy arched frames; he employed only a light scaffolding of wood for his builders to stand on. The dome was closed as fast as it went up, thus forming its own support. This was how it came to be construc-



Fig. 76. — Entrance to the Chapter Hall. *(Convent at Fiesole.)*

ed in such a surprisingly short time. Vasari's book, written a century later, still reflects the amazement of the people of Florence as they saw its rapid rise above the houses of the city. "It seemed," he tells us, "like a new hill rising among the houses, and the graceful Tuscan hills round about recognized it as a sister." This phrase gives us some idea of the manner in which this architectural master-piece harmonizes with its surroundings. Indeed, it is in spirit one of the most universal works ever accomplished by mankind. Its enormous mass is dissimulated by its graceful outline and a natural elegance that only Florence could produce. Its lightly pointed form set up on an octagonal drum pierced by circular windows, the neutral color of its tiles and the beautiful marble lantern on top all characterize the panorama of the city set below the hills of Fiesole and S. Miniato.

Brunelleschi never lived to see it completed, but he devoted his life to this great dome. He took charge of the work in 1420, and the first stone of the lantern was not set in place until 1445, while the architect himself died the following year. The accounts we have of the life of the first architect of the Renaissance are most valuable; we find them in Vasari's book and in the contemporary writings of the period such as those of Mannetti. All of these tell us that Brunelleschi was skilled in all the arts, but abandoned them in favor of architecture. The Florentine artists and writers of the first half of the Fifteenth Century were filled with a boundless admiration for the builder of their famous dome.



Fig. 77. — Brunelleschi. Old sacristy of S. Lorenzo and tomb of Cosimo de Medici. FLORENCE.



Fig. 78. — Brunelleschi. The Pitti Palace. FLORENCE.

Donatello even considered him a great sculptor, while Leone Battista Alberti dedicated his treatise to him. As a matter of fact, Brunelleschi well deserved all the eulogies which the artists of his time showered upon him and the reputation he has enjoyed with succeeding generations. The dome at Florence is one of the few monuments which have always been unanimously admired in spite of changing tastes. As we come to comprehend the spirit of the work, we see more and more to what an extent the architect possessed a passion for form, a constancy and a discipline by study which are often considered to be incompatible with such genius. To construct the simple hemispherical dome of the cathedral of Florence, he brought to bear not only a thorough knowledge of Roman antiquity, but also a familiarity with the mediaeval cupolas and even the Byzantine domes of Ravenna. Out of all these elements he produced a most original work.

That Brunelleschi strove most of all to imitate the works of classical antiquity is seen in the other structures which he planned and directed at Florence. Already in 1419, before he began work on the dome, he built the portico of the Foundling Hospital, employing columns with Corinthian capitals supporting round arches (fig. 75). In 1421 he planned the sacristy of S. Lorenzo which is an evident imitation of the classical forms in every detail. Against the white walls are set pilasters, arches and entablatures of dark stone, all in the ancient Roman style (fig. 77). Even in lesser works, such as the restoration of the Dominican Convent at Fiesole ordered by the Medici, Brunelleschi adhered to his elegance of style, combining bands of stone with stucco construction (fig. 76).

The same is true of the two churches he constructed at Florence, S. Lorenzo and S. Spirito. Here he evidently intended to reproduce the ancient Roman



PHOTO ALINARI

Brunelleschi. Chapel of the Pazzi. FLORENCE.

basilica with a nave and two aisles. The nave would be higher, lighted with windows and covered with a flat roof, while the lateral aisles, separated by columns from the nave, would be vaulted, and the architectural elements of dark stone would stand out against the white walls. It is interesting to note the new solution by which Brunelleschi joined the column with the arch which it supported. Upon the capital of the column he set a rectangular entablature with the mouldings of the architrave, frieze and cornice. This had never been done in ancient times; the columns in the Roman baths were set against the wall and bore an entablature which curved out and became part of the wall above, but in Brunelleschi's basilicas the entablature is a distinct feature in itself. (Plate V.)



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 79. — Palazzo Riccardi. FLORENCE.

The work most characteristic of Brunelleschi's style is the little chapel of the Pazzi family. Its façade and portico form one of the sides of the rectangular cloister of S. Croce at Florence. Here the architect evidently enjoyed greater liberty than in the larger structures, such as S. Lorenzo and S. Spirito, and was not confronted by a structural problem as in the case of the cathedral dome. He was able, therefore, to arrange the classical elements to his own taste and combine them as he liked. Behind the façade and portico is a little church, its small dome decorated with reliefs. On the façade is a central arch with two lateral bands of high architraves above the columns. It is the system employed by the Sixteenth-century architects of combining the arch with the lateral entablatures, but it is here that we find it for the first



Fig. 80. — Palazzo Strozzi. FLORENCE.



Fig. 81. — Alberti. Interior of the church of S. Andrea. MANTUA.

time. All the vaults, windows and arches are ornamented with delicate patterns derived from the ancient designs: the Greek mouldings and the undulated striae of the Roman sarcophagi.

Brunelleschi also furnished the earliest type of a Renaissance palace at Florence. The lower part is of large rough stone blocks, while above is a more finished facing and windows divided by columns and surmounted by a monumental classical entablature. Such was the original plan of the Pitti Palace which was not completed at the time. Later, when the Medici became dukes of Tuscany, they finished it (fig. 78). All during the Fifteenth Century the Medici lived in a more modest residence in the centre of the city. Brunelleschi was dead when Cosimo had it built by Michelozzo, the pupil of the master. It still bears on one corner the arms of the Medici, but it is now named for the Riccardi who later inhabited it (fig. 79). The lower story is of rustic-work and pierced by large arched openings which were partially closed later. In the two upper stories are the traditional divided windows and above is a splendid stone cornice. The court, with its inscriptions and antique marbles, is a monument to the exquisite taste of Michelozzo and the Medici for whom he built the structure.

In any history of art the name of Cosimo de Medici should be cited with those of the artists of his epoch just as that of Pericles is connected with Phidias. Neither Cosimo nor his sons and grandsons filled any office, but their great spirit and their wealth put them at the head of the great intellectual and artistic movement which began in Florence. Cosimo, "Pater Patriae," was merely a banker, but he had branch-institutions in every part of Europe and possessed sufficient wealth to finance the various projects which he considered advantageous to his native city. He created centres of study in the Dominican monas-

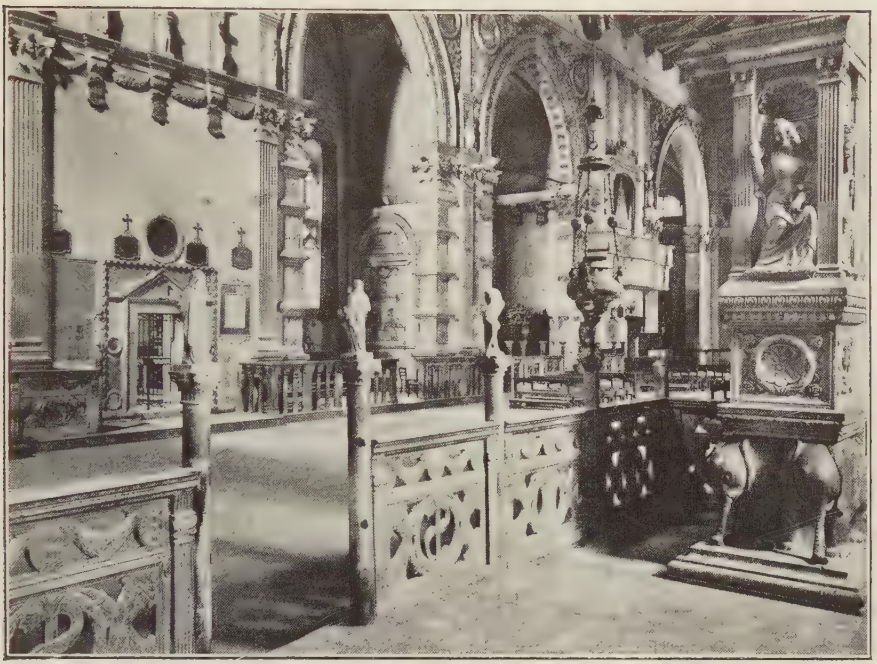


PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 82. — Interior of the Tempio Malatestiano. RIMINI.

teries of S. Marco and at Fiesole which he restored in the new style; he founded libraries in accordance with the advice of the great artists and scholars who frequented his palace; he ordered translations of the ancient Greek writers, accepted dedications and patronized every sort of intellectual and artistic endeavor. To his palace and its courts and gardens came young sculptors to contemplate the antique statues collected there. He was the friend of the enthusiastic humanists of the early Renaissance whose constant ideal was the resurrection of the classical spirit which was now beginning to be understood through the medium of the antique marbles and old manuscripts. Cosimo himself, as well his grandsons, Giuliano and Lorenzo, took part in their discussions; one of the writers among this group, Vespasiano da Bisticci, has preserved for us a number of their conversations. We find good government and questions of criticism discussed in the lofty terms and style of the Dialogues of Plato.

Other families who did not belong to the old Florentine aristocracy but like the Medici had raised themselves by their own efforts, took part in the great movement. The Strozzi Palace, which follows the type of the Palace of Cosimo, is even more monumental in character (fig. 80). Built by Benedetto da Majano, it is a great rectangular mass of stone topped by a broad cornice which casts a dark shadow upon the upper portion of the walls. Its magnificent effect is achieved by the simple distribution of its various elements. The lower story with its single doorway piercing the rough stone wall forms a pedestal for the upper portion with its plainly designed windows. The type became popular, and



Fig. 83. — Entrance to the Castello. FERRARA.

another architect of the same Florentine group, Leone Battista Alberti, took as his models the buildings of Michelozzo and Benedetto da Majano when he constructed the Rucellai Palace, although he employed a certain freedom of style.

The arrangement of these Fifteenth-century Florentine palaces is almost always the same. There is a central court which is square or rectangular; its columns and doorways are arranged most symmetrically; and there is a monumental stairway. Vasari describes the structural system saying that the ideal dwelling should be like the human body; the façade is the face, the windows, the eyes, one on one side and another on the other, *servando sempre parità.*

Alberti was to spread the new Tuscan style beyond the frontiers of his province. At Mantua he was commissioned by the Gonzaga family to construct the church dedicated to S. Andrea. This building consists only of a large vaulted nave and a cupola over the crossing (fig. 81). This was the plan of most of the Renaissance churches; the thrust of the hemispherical vault over the nave was arrested by lateral chapels. Brunelleschi's scheme of constructing a church in accordance with the type of the flat-roofed classical basilica appears to have been modified by Leone Battista Alberti's solution of the problem, and the latter was generally adopted. S. Lorenzo and S. Spirito at Florence stand as attempts to realize the ideal of a genius enamored of the simple form of the ancient basilica. Alberti, on the other hand, took as his model the vaulted construction of the great Roman baths which permitted a greater width to the navė. Of an aristocratic Florentine family, he added to his technical knowledge a vast erudition; he not only constructed buildings, but also spread the new style by means of his writings. Although he was possessed of no such architectural



Fig. 84. — Palazzo dei Diamanti. FERRARA.

instinct as was Brunelleschi, he was a practical builder. He was familiar with the ancient treatises and had a remarkably fine taste in the combination of decorative elements. The ornamental themes of antiquity were hardly sufficient for the architecture of the humanists; here we find intellectual concepts of a new character which were entirely foreign to the ancients. Consequently this combination of a knowledge of architecture and construction with that of letters greatly aided the development of the plastic features of the new art.

Although S. Andrea at Mantua may not be the most finished and complex of Alberti's works, the building most characteristic of his personal taste is the church at Rimini erected by Sigismondo Malatesta for Isotta, afterwards his wife (fig. 82). The structure was not completed. Two letters from Alberti giving instructions do not make it very plain whether he intended to cover the structure with vaults or a timbered roof. The latter was done for the time being in any case. As in S. Andrea at Mantua, there are lateral chapels in one of which is the beautiful tomb of Isotta in whose honor Malatesta built the church. On the lateral façades are niches containing the tombs of the historian, the court-poet, the court-fool and the generals of the lord of Rimini, all large sarcophagi. On the main façade, which also remained uncompleted, Alberti arranged three arches of equal size, inspired no doubt by the Roman triumphal arches. Two of these, however, were filled in, and in the central one is the small doorway lead-

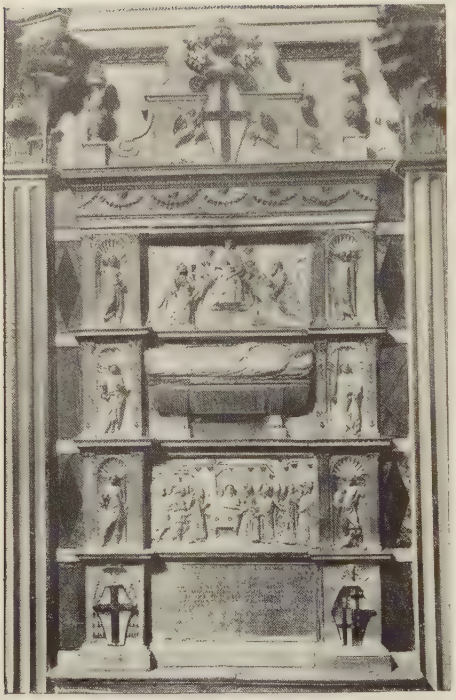


Fig. 85. — Tomb of Pope Pius II (Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini). Rome.

ing to the interior. The whole building bears witness to the great change in the ideas of the times. The lord of Rimini and his architect, setting up this temple to win immortality for a woman, were more zealous than the ancient masters whose work they imitated. The example of the Caesars and the pagan life which they sought to reproduce led them to commit many extravagances. But the marvelous thing about this church at Rimini is unquestionably its ornamentation. Here we see for the first time the system of dividing the pilasters into panels containing fine symbolic reliefs and distributing small decorative figures throughout the interior. The reliefs have the blue and silver colors of the arms of the Malatestas and contrast tastefully with the natural white marble of the church. The scenes represented indicate generally a singular effort in the direction of paganism. We see the trophies, crowns and triumphs of the Malatesta and the symbols of the virtues of the new goddess, Isotta. On most of the stones her name or monogram appears as though in testimony of her to whom the structure had been dedicated; indeed Pope Pius II remarked that the interior resembled a heathen temple more than it did a Christian church.

In the northern districts of Italy the Florentine style was rather slow in spreading; nevertheless, Alberti's commissions at Mantua and Rimini were not without consequences. At Ferrara the castle of the Este family, mostly built in the Fifteenth Century, still presents a mediaeval appearance with its moat and barbicans, but high up on the towers we begin to see classical friezes and pilasters, and the interior is entirely constructed in the new style (fig. 83). The other private palaces of the same period in Modena and Ferrara are built in accordance with the principles of the Renaissance. We find pilasters set against the walls and windows surmounted by small pediments in the manner that became so general in the architecture of the two centuries following (fig. 84).

After he had completed his work at Mantua and Rimini, Alberti went to Rome. He was summoned here by the new Pope, Nicholas V, a famous scholar who, though he had been born in Liguria, was a member of the Florentine group of humanists. In order to be able to go on with his studies in Tuscany, Tomaso Parentucelli, afterward Nicholas V, became preceptor of a number of youths belonging to wealthy Florentine families, such as the Albizzi and the



Fig. 86. — Façade of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Rome.

Strozzi. His rise was as rapid as it was well deserved, and a few years later, when he was unexpectedly elected to the chief dignity in the Church, Cosimo de Medici dispatched a brilliant embassy to Rome in recognition of the honor reflected upon the city of Florence by this choice. Nicholas V unreservedly favored the Florentine Renaissance, and as his piety was unquestioned, he was able to open the Church to the humanists without arousing suspicion. His name will always be connected with that of the Vatican Library, for it was he who really created it, taking advantage of his great opportunities and adding to the old archives many precious ancient manuscripts, especially Greek codices brought from Constantinople. Naturally Nicholas V wished to have with him a Florentine architect to aid in carrying out his ambitious building program, and this could hardly be any other than Leone Battista Alberti, who was the most cultivated and erudite of all the artists of his time. The bibliophile Pope entrusted to the humanist architect a number of commissions, and between them they planned the rather fanciful project of an ideal city of which we learn something from Alberti's book, *De re aedificatoria.* Their programme was only partly carried out, of course, but the principal work, which was to be a new church over the tomb of St. Peter, was begun, and the rear portion of the venerable Vatican Basilica was torn down. Alberti did no more than lay the foundation for the new apse, but his conscientious work led to Bramante's plan and, a century later, to Michelangelo's colossal task of raising the walls which were to support the present dome of St. Peter's.

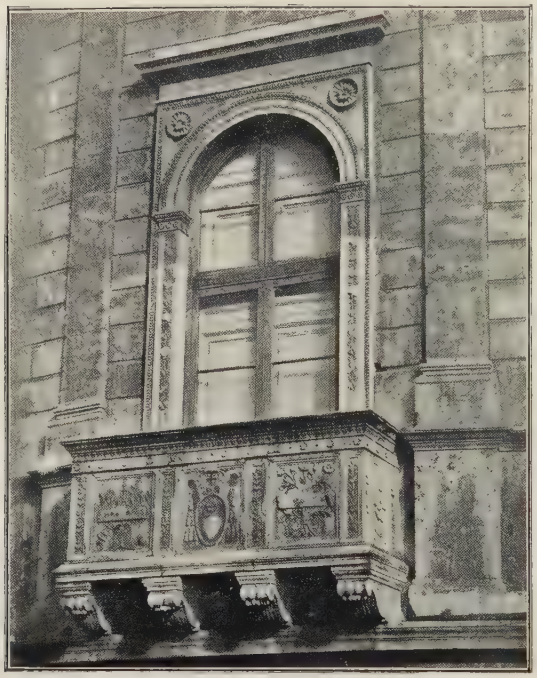


PHOTO MOSCIONI

Fig. 87. — Balcony of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Rome.

Another pope whose literary merits raised him to the pontifical seat was the Tuscan humanist, Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini of Siena, who translated a number of Greek texts and was the author of delightfully written poems and commentaries. Under the name of Pius II he governed the Church for a few years, and like Nicholas V, he too was filled with an ardent desire to found a model city. This, however, was not to be at Rome, but in his native province of Siena at Pienza. The premature death of Pius II arrested the work begun here, but we still find a number of monuments, such as the cathedral, the pontifical palace and palaces intended for the cardinals, all in the purest quattrocentist style. More modest houses for the remaining population were never added. But the most important accomplishment of these Tuscan popes, Nicholas V, Pius II and the latter's nephew, Pius III, was that they definitely set the seal of the Florentine Renaissance upon Rome.

The presence of Alberti and the Florentine popes brought other architects to Rome who built in the quattrocentist Tuscan style such churches as S. Agostino and S. Maria del Popolo. The new style soon manifested itself, however, in a manner that was markedly Roman, particularly in the great palaces. The ruins of the ancient buildings of a civil character offered models for their façades and arrangement which could not be found at Florence. The most characteristic of these is the Palazzo della Cancelleria, built in 1485 as the residence of Cardinal Riario, whose name is seen upon the frieze which runs along the centre of the façade. It was long supposed to have been the work of Bramante, a later architect whose style was much more classical, on account of its Roman magnificence. But Bramante did not come to Rome until much later, and we are still ignorant as to the identity of the architect. It may well have been some Florentine pupil of Alberti, for the arrangement of the façade seems like a Tuscan rendering of the superimposition of stories seen in the Colosseum and the decoration is plainly in the quattrocentist style. It is difficult to understand how this edifice could so long have been taken for the work of Bramante (fig. 87).

Another Roman palace of the same period is the so-called Palazzo Venezia,

for it was afterward granted to Venice for an embassy building. It was built for Cardinal Barbo, and Vasari tells us that it was the work of Giuliano da Majano. From the outside it looks like a great castle with its smooth walls and a projecting barbican like that of the Castello at Ferrara. The court, however, has a classical sobriety that is very Roman. Its lines are so pure that it seems like a prophecy of the style that was to develop in Rome a hundred years later, inspired directly by the ancient buildings rather than by the art of the Quattrocento humanists of Florence. Its imitation of the superimposed orders of the Theatre of Marcellus is very evident; columns set against the walls like pilasters separate the arches on the court in each story (fig. 88).



Fig. 88. — Court of the Palazzo Venezia. Rome.

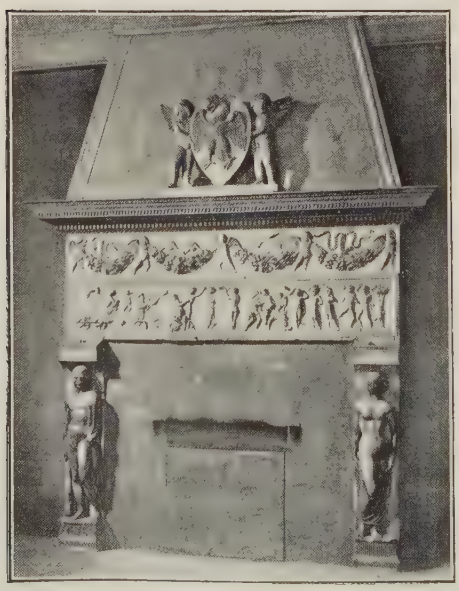
Nevertheless, the handsomest quattrocentist Italian palace is the one at Urbino. It was constructed by a Dalmatian by the name of Luciano da Laurana. The irregularity of the ground did not permit the development of a large façade and the exterior still appears quite mediaeval. The severe climate of Urbino compelled the architect to raise the roof on account of the snow, but the interior is one of the purest in line and the most beautiful in the distinction of its decorations that can be found anywhere. Even the Florentines admired this Ducal Palace, and Lorenzo de Medici sent for sketches of the building, although the palace of Urbino would not produce the same effect on any other site. Even photographs give us but a poor conception of the elegance of its proportions. The court is extremely simple; it has a lower portico composed of a number of round arches which support a frieze bearing an inscription in Roman letters (fig. 89). In the halls, now dismantled, we find marvelous decorations on the doors and windows as well as the great fire-places which bear the arms of the Montefeltro (fig. 90). Today the Ducal Palace, without its tapestries and the rich library of precious books which was sent to the Vatican, fills the visitor with a profound melancholy. It is sad to see the abandonment of so much beauty, as one notes in its halls the reflection of that refined court the intellectual diversions of which are recorded in Baldassare Castiglione's "Cortigiano," the ideal courtier.

Just as city palaces were required for the new life for the courts, for the prelates and even for wealthy citizens, so did the custom of the time call for the



Fig. 89—Laurana. Court of the Ducal Palace at Urbino.

construction of lesser palaces of lighter architecture for country homes and villas. In imitation of the ancient Romans, the patrons of arts and letters had houses in the country which were furnished with works of art. Here from time to time when opportunity permitted they passed their days in more or less intellectual recreation. We know that the Medici had such villas, and some accounts have been preserved of the interesting conversations which were held there when they retired from the city to enjoy themselves with a few artist friends. These country homes were rebuilt by the Dukes of Tuscany and later abandoned. Near Naples Alfonso V, the Magnanimous, constructed two such country-seats. One of them was the famous Poggio-reale, the plan of which is reproduced in Serlio's great treatise on architecture. It was



PHOTOS ALINARI

Fig. 90.—Fire-place in the Ducal Palace at Urbino.

of almost open construction. There was a square plan with a central court and porticos on each façade. The only rooms which were entirely enclosed were those in the four corners.

The personal relations of Alfonso V of Aragon with Lorenzo de Medici, the grandson of the great Cosimo, explain the attraction of Naples for the Florentine artists who filled the city with quattrocentist architectural and sculptural monuments. Before coming to Italy Alfonso had been a person of culture and endowed with unusually good taste. The inventory of his library, taken while he was still the Infante, is composed chiefly of classical titles. He took advantage of the sympathy which existed for his house in Sicily and his more or less doubtful rights to the throne of Naples to attempt the conquest of Southern Italy. After many vicissitudes he finally succeeded in effecting a triumphal entrance into Naples. From that time on he never returned to his kingdom in Spain and became an enthusiastic patron of the Renaissance as befitted an Italian prince. Only Cosimo de Medici and Nicholas V were his equals in elevation of spirit, and compared



Fig. 91. — Arch of Alfonso V of Aragon. Naples.

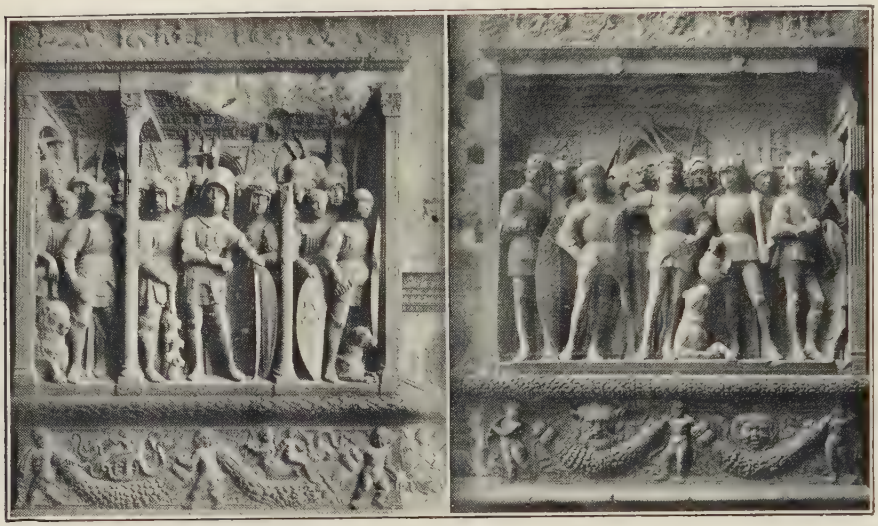


Fig. 92.—Reliefs on either side of the passage in the arch of Alfonso V of Aragon. Naples.

with him the Duke of Urbino, Sigismondo Malatesta and the dukes of Milan are but personages of secondary importance. In Naples, moreover, the Renaissance took on a character of its own. The life and somewhat pagan customs of the city lacked the restraint which we find everywhere among the erudite intellectuals of Florence.

Alfonso commemorated his triumphant entry into Naples by the construction of a marvelous arch at the doorway of the Castello Nuovo. The building itself was a Gothic structure dating from the time of the French kings of the House of Anjou. It was surmounted by round towers and barbicans, and on the wall between two of these towers the quattrocentists artists who had come to Naples set up an extraordinary monument to perpetuate the fame of the Aragonese king. The lower portion is in imitation of the Roman triumphal arches. Over the entrance is a round arch, and on either side are two columns set against the wall. In either angle of the arch is a magnificent griffin bearing the arms of Aragon (fig. 91). Inside the archway are reliefs of a historical character such as we see in the arches of Titus and Constantine at Rome (fig. 92).

Above the frieze is a high relief representing Alfonso's entry into the city. There are groups of soldiers, heralds with trumpets and finally the royal chariot drawn by four white horses and the flame symbolic of the king's virtues as described in the biographies of Valla, Pontano and the anonymous Valencian (fig. 93).

Above, as the high wall of this mediaeval fortress required additional marble ornamentation, there is another story consisting of a loggia or open balcony on which we find repeated the themes of the arch below. At the top is still another frieze of niches containing allegorical figures, and this element was later completed with a sort of tympanum surmounted by a statue.

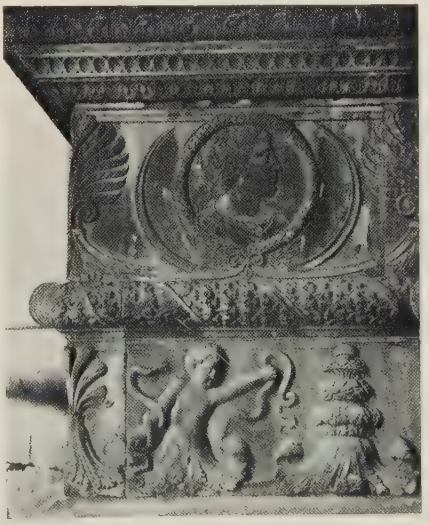
Alfonso's Triumphal Arch, which has recently been restored, is a lofty

memorial to the glory of the Aragonese king. He is shown not only as a political leader, but also as a man of culture and a lover of the arts. Although but a recent arrival in this classic land, he surpassed many of the most enthusiastic Italian patrons of the Renaissance. We do not know who was the architect who directed this work; from the Aragonese archives at Barcelona we learn only the interesting fact that the marble was brought from Mallorca and the names and remuneration of the sculptors who did the carving. Most of these were from Florence, but as we do not know the name of the author of the entire composition, it can only be surmised that it may have been Leone Battista Alberti or Luciano da Laurana.



Fig. 93.—Alfonso V drawn in his triumphal chariot. *(Arch at Naples.)*

Although in every part of Italy, owing to the climate, we find a certain difference in the composition of the buildings, nevertheless, the quattrocentist decorative style was everywhere uniform. It was conspicuously Florentine in character with its flat reliefs executed as delicately as goldsmith's work. The fact that Brunelleschi in his youth had worked in the shop of a silversmith seems rather symbolic; the decorations of the quattrocentist might well have been executed in some precious material, so fine and exquisite is every detail. The architectural features as well were refined and subdivided. The cornices were gracefully multiplied, and Alberti divided the pilasters into panels, each containing a decorative theme. We find the pulpits, sarcophagi and balconies embellished with small brackets, stays and columns, and on the friezes of plant-forms appear little heads and animals. The old Roman themes, such as the palmette, garland and curled acanthus-leaf, were so finely carved by the Italian quattrocentist sculptors that they seem like inlaid work hardly raised from the smooth background. All these motives were combined with a grace and distinction that make them appear very modern. As so often happens in the



PHOTOS ALINARI

Fig. 94.—Base of the arch of Alfonso V. Naples.

world of art, the artists employed by Cosimo and Lorenzo de Medici, Alfonso of Aragon and Nicholas V, while they intended only to bring the ancient world back to life, were really creating a new art unawares.

We have now reached the point where the art of the Renaissance found an exponent and philosopher in the person of Leon Battista Alberti. His books on sculpture, *Della statua,* on painting, *De pittura,* and, most important of all, the artistic encyclopedia known as *De re aedificatoria,* exerted an enormous influence both on his contemporaries and those who came after him.

Summary. — At the end of the Fourteenth Century Florence, which had witnessed so great a revolution in the field of sculpture, was still continuing to employ in the construction of its cathedral the old mediaeval forms of the Gothic style such as were the fashion in other parts of Italy. Only the campanile, which is of unusual beauty, could be cited as remarkable. We know nothing of the architect or the history of this magnificent tower which is one of the most exquisite works of art that mankind has ever produced. Consequently we cannot but experience a shock of surprise at the dome of S. Maria del Fiore, the cathedral, which was the work of Brunelleschi, the first Renaissance architect. This dome has a diameter of about one hundred forty feet and is double. It is raised upon an octagonal drum above the roof of the church. It has been stated that Brunelleschi was attempting to imitate the Roman domes like that of the Pantheon, but the structure of his cupola with its raised exterior is neither Roman nor Byzantine, but rather Romanesque and seems to be derived from the cupolas of the Cistercian churches. Brunelleschi does imitate Roman architecture, however, in S. Lorenzo and S. Spirito which he also built at Florence. In their plan and elevation both resemble a pagan Roman basilica. The same architect created a type of city palace in his plans for the Pitti Palace which was not completed until later. His pupils, particularly Michelozzo and Benedetto da Majano, continued to follow the style of the master. Leone Battista Alberti, almost a contemporary of Brunelleschi and a lofty spirit as well as a great scholar, further developed the style of Brunelleschi and spread it to other parts of Northern Italy and to Rome. At the end of the Fifteenth Century we find a number of popes of Tuscan origin who summoned Florentine artists and architects to Rome to carry out an ambitious building program. To this late Fifteenth Century style, quattrocentist in every detail, belongs the Palazzo della Cancelleria so long ascribed to Bramante, a famous architect of the following century. At Naples the generosity and good taste of the great Aragonese king, Alfonso V, attracted many Florentine artists. His triumphal arch at the entrance of the Castello Nuovo is one of the most characteristic monuments of the Florentine quattrocentist style.

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Fig. 95. — Detail of the triumphal arch of Alfonso V. Naples.

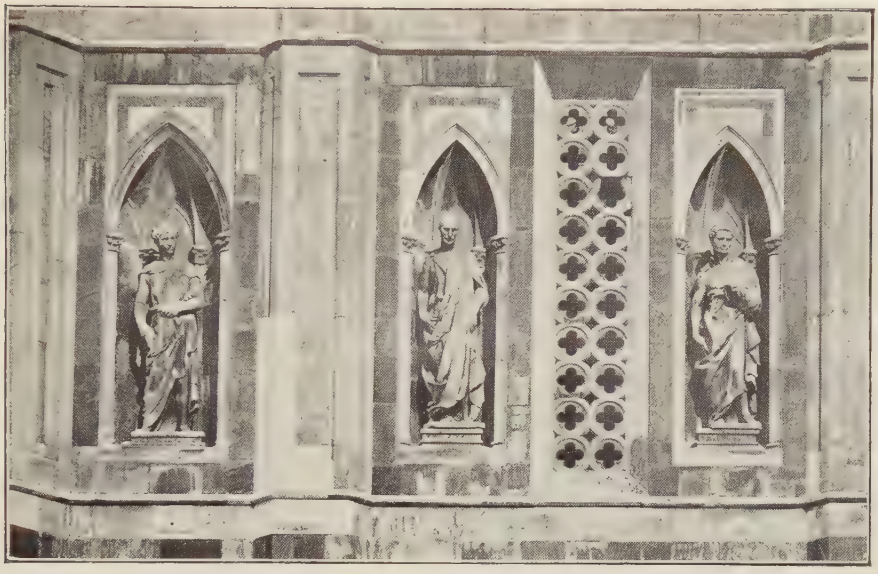


Fig. 96. — Donatello's statues in the Campanile at Florence.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT QUATTROCENTIST SCULPTORS OF TUSCANY. — THE DOORS OF THE BAPTISTERY. — DONATELLO. — VERROCCHIO. — JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA. THE DELLA ROBBIAS. — THE QUATTROCENTIST DECORATORS. — MEDALS.

At the beginning of the Fifteenth Century the art of sculpture, which had been revived by the Pisans, had its centre at Florence. Work was actively progressing on the cathedral, especially on the lateral façades. One of these, with the handsome doorway reproduced in the preceding chapter, is profusely decorated with sculptures. Of all the pupils of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano the most talented was a Florentine by the name of Arnolfo. During such time as he was in Florence he formed a school of sculptors some of whom carried the Pisan style to Naples, where they carved the tombs of the French princes of the house of Anjou. Another pupil of his, Andrea, surnamed Pisano more on account of his art than his origin, had also worked at Florence. In addition to his work in the cathedral, he executed the bronze doors of the Baptistery which are divided into panels containing scenes from the life of St. John.

St. John the Baptist was one of the patron saints of Florence; consequently the octagonal Baptistery, with its dome decorated with Byzantine mosaics, came to be a sort of national sanctuary for that province. Leonardo planned to raise it upon a base by means of ingenious machinery, so that it would appear more slender, and Vasari calls it "the oldest and most important temple in the city." This small octagonal structure contains the baptismal fonts in the centre



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Fig. 97. — Brunelleschi. The Sacrifice of Isaac. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

and has three façades, the side in front of the cathedral and the adjoining one on either hand. Built into the rear wall is an apse containing an altar. In each of the three façades are two bronze doors. The first set is by Andrea Pisano and has already been mentioned. The other two, which we shall consider now, were the work of Lorenzo Ghiberti, the first great sculptor of the century. In the year 1401 the merchants of Florence proposed to complete the decoration of the Baptistery with two new sets of bronze doors. They opened a competition in which seven sculptors took part. Two of them were Tuscans, two from Siena, two from Arezzo and one from Val d'Elsa. The two Florentines were Brunelleschi, who was later to construct the famous dome, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, then a youth of little more than twenty. Each contestant was to compose and cast, within the space of a year, a panel of the same form and dimensions as those of the doors of Andrea Pisano. This composition was to represent the Sacrifice of Isaac.

In the Museo Nazionale at Florence we find preserved the bronze models entered for this competition by Brunelleschi and Ghiberti. In Vasari's time they were greatly admired and commented upon and every detail was compared (figs. 97 and 98). It seems likely that whoever proposed the subject also prescribed the number and position of the figures, for we find the same number of personages in both panels. It only remained for the sculptors to supply the beauty and novelty of style which constitute artistic invention. In both of these reliefs Isaac is upon the altar and Abraham seizes him by the throat, and in both the angel points to the lamb which is in the upper portion of the relief. Below are the two servants and the ass which has borne the wood for the sacrifice. In Brunelleschi's relief we are able to appreciate his remarkable skill as a sculptor, although he afterward neglected this art in his love for architecture. Indeed, his work on the dome doubtless occupied his attention to the exclusion of everything



Fig. 98. — Ghiberti. The Sacrifice of Isaac. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

else. We cannot help noticing the extraordinary realism of the details, such as the lamb scratching its neck and the boy extracting a thorn from his foot, the latter in imitation of the famous *Spinario* of ancient sculpture. Brunelleschi's relief indicates plainly that Florence was well prepared to receive the quattrocentist school of sculpture, when a man like Brunelleschi, who later almost abandoned this art entirely, could compose and execute such a relief. The task was rendered the more difficult by the quaterfoil form required in the contest (fig. 97). Nevertheless, the relief of Ghiberti surpasses it beyond question. This sculptor, who was little more than a boy when he executed this marvelous composition, bears witness to the years of study and discipline in the shop of his stepfather who was a famous goldsmith (fig. 98). The beauty of the casting seems to have been what decided the thirty-four judges in favor of Ghiberti. He himself in a treatise entitled "Commentaries on Painting" and written in his old age refers with pride to his success in this competition, and he assures us that the other contestants retired in recognition of his superiority. It is possible, however, that the judges may have considered awarding the work to one of the two Florentines and that Brunelleschi retired, as one biographer states, only because he did not wish to be obliged to work in collaboration with others. In any case, the result was most favorable to the development of art. Brunelleschi was confirmed in his vocation as an architect, and Ghiberti was placed in a position where he could realize in his marvelous doors an ideal hitherto undreamed of in sculpture. Like Andrea's doors, those of Ghiberti were composed of panels with almost Gothic borders, but in the scenes represented we see the same graceful and realistic treatment as in the relief by which he won the competition. In the background the landscape is pleasingly indicated by means of trees, and the



Fig. 99. — Doors of the Baptistery. Florence.



Fig. 100. — Border of the Baptistery doors. Florence.



Fig. 101.—Door of the Baptistery. Frame.

figures, both in their grouping and action, have a natural and spontaneous attitude. It was in the evangelical scenes of these doors that Ghiberti learned the technique of casting metal. Vasari tells us that when he cast the door-frame the mould broke and it was necessary to do it over again. A century later the work aroused such curiosity that they recalled the place where he had made the casting and his furnace was found behind the weavers' hospital.

Ghiberti worked on these doors until 1424, and by this time he had become so famous that he was readily given the commission to execute the third set independent of any collaboration. He was even permitted to change the number of subjects which had been laid out according to the plan of the erudite Leonardo Bruni. According to the latter's scheme, these third doors were to be devoted to the Old Testament. They were to consist of twenty-eight panels, which were to represent scenes of the Creation and the history of Israel, one by one. Each door was divided into seven zones with two reliefs to each zone. As a matter of fact, Ghiberti represented several scenes in the same panel and worked out Bruni's scheme in ten panels which were large enough to develop the backgrounds in perspective. Here he represented landscapes and picturesque scenes which were merely indicated in the first doors he made. "In some of these ten reliefs," writes Ghiberti in his Commentaries, "I introduced more than a hundred figures; in others, less; working always with conscience and love... Observing the laws of vision, I succeeded in giving them an appearance of such reality that if seen from a distance, the figures seemed to be in the full round. In the different planes, the nearer figures are the greater; those further away diminish in size just as occurs in nature." This paragraph shows plainly that the Florentine artist had realized the invention of pictorial relief, something which had never been since ancient times. In the pul-



Fig. 102.—Door of the Baptistery. Frame.



Ghiberti. Reliefs of the doors of the Baptistery. Florence.
The Creation and the Expulsion from Paradise.



Cain and Abel. Adam's house. Abel plowing. Cain and his flock. The two sacrifices.
Cain killing Abel.

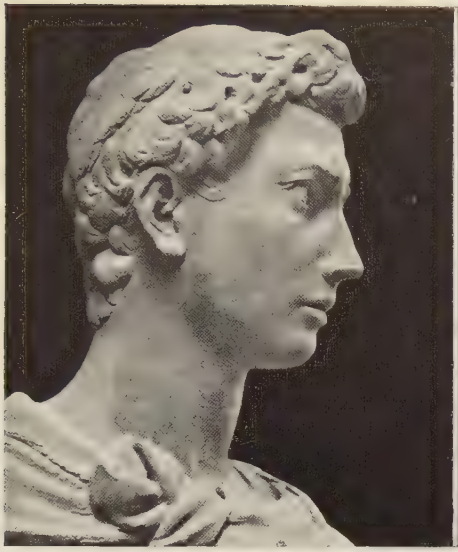


Fig. 103. — Donatello. Head of St. George. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 104. — Donatello. St. George. FLORENCE.

pits of the Pisan sculptors all the figures are of the same size and in the same high relief. Only by their attitude and the position they occupy do they indicate the part they take in the scene.

The reliefs of these last doors are marvelously effective, surpassing even those of the Arch of Titus. In the panel representing the Creation and Expulsion from Paradise, the Garden of Eden has a vernal freshness like that of spring. (Plate VII.) This accumulation of scenes, instead of being a hindrance, really stimulated invention and led to new effects. For example, the creation of man in the foreground permitted the artist to give more softness to the beautiful relief with the figure of Eve, and the group of the Omnipotent, in a cloud of angels which loses itself in the distance, gives light and space to the landscape of the garden. The same is true of the marvelous landscape in the scene of Cain and Abel. The different scenes are separated by a ravine clothed with pines and high up in the distance rise the two altars with their sacrifices to the Lord. In the background, still further away, the house of the first parents stands against a beautiful mountainous perspective. (Plate VII.) Nevertheless, whenever the imagination of the sculptor conceived a more ambitious composition which required an entire panel, he did not hesitate to give it the necessary space, as in the dramatic scene of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Here we find a large number of animated groups and an architectural perspective of porticos in the background. Lorenzo Ghiberti spent more than twenty-two years in the execution of these ten panels, enriching them with a border of plant-forms combined with the heads of the prophets (fig. 100). The bronze frame also is exquisitely ornamented with leaves and little animals such as had never before been produced in sculpture (figs. 101 and 102.) Vasari has good reasons for saying



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Fig. 105. — Donatello. John the Baptist. *(Palazzo Martelli.)* FLORENCE.

that it is "the most beautiful work that has ever appeared in either ancient or modern times," for it is true that the finest decorations of plant-forms on the Roman friezes of the Augustan period cannot rival the marvelous life and luxuriance which we see in the foliage on the frames of Ghiberti's second set of doors. Some of the smaller leaves seem moulded from nature, such is the wealth of detail; but the reliefs were so skilfully cast and beautifully joined that the ribbons, small lizards, birds and lively little squirrels are more spirited and graceful than in nature itself. Ghiberti himself tells us in his Commentaries that he strove to the utmost to imitate nature. These last doors were set in the position previously occupied by those of Andrea Pisano representing the life of St. John the Baptist on the façade in front of the cathedral. It was not long before they were popularly known as the Gates of Paradise, possibly on account of the Creation scene, or perhaps for the same reason that Michelangelo said, as we read in Vasari, "they are so beautiful that they might stand at the gates of Paradise."

Admirable as Ghiberti's reliefs on these doors may be, he was not so fortunate in his figures of the saints which we find elsewhere. Ghiberti's reputation is founded upon this one masterpiece. Like many other artists, much of his work is nothing more than a cold repetition of exhausted inspirations. Later in life, nevertheless, his reputation in Florence was very great, and it may have been for this reason that they wanted him to collaborate with Brunelleschi in directing the work on the dome. They may have felt that the famous sculptor would restrain to some extent the audacity of the great architect. Brunelleschi, it is said, felt humiliated at the collaboration imposed upon him, but he finally succeeded in making himself the sole director of the work. Today it is believed that Vasari's account is rather fanciful; in one of Alberti's last letters to Brunelleschi he sends greetings to Ghiberti, apparently a good friend of the architect. He also wishes to be remembered to a number of famous sculptors and painters, such as Donatello, Lucca della Robbia and Masaccio, all of whom we know to have been intimate friends of Brunelleschi. Of all this group of Florentine artists Brunelleschi seems to have been generally considered the most prominent and intelligent. As we have already noted, he was the Phidias of the Florentine quattrocento. To Brunelleschi

is largely due the credit of having formed the best sculptor of the period; this was Donato, better known as Donatello, with whom he made at least one trip to Rome, in 1404, with the object of studying classical art.

Donatello would be about twenty years old at the time. He was born about 1386, and quite a story has grown up regarding his journey to Rome with Brunelleschi, his intimate friend. To defray the expense of the trip, which lasted a year, Brunelleschi sold a farm which he owned in Settignano, and when the two friends ran out of money they employed their spare time making jewelry. It is said that they had the good fortune to find a small treasure of ancient coins.

Upon his return to Florence Donatello began work on the statues of the cathedral; he received his first payment for this in 1406. Afterward he worked on the campanile (fig. 96) and the sculptures of Or S. Michele. His St. George was carved in 1416, when he was close to thirty years old. Vasari describes this statue which was for Or S. Michele as follows: "The saint has an animated expression and in his head we see the beauty of youth and courage and fortitude in arms, with a vigor truly awe-inspiring and a marvelous appearance of movement within the marble. Surely we have never seen in modern figures such vigor or spirit as nature and art, working through Donatello, achieved in this statue." This statue has been compared with the noble mediaeval knight of the cathedral of Chartres, the beautiful St. Theodore which is one of the most delicate works of French Gothic sculpture. But the French warrior, the devout Crusader, is a serene being that is the reflection of an ideal, while the youthful St. George of Donatello moves within his cuirass as though looking for something at a great distance.



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Fig. 106.— John the Baptist. *(Museo Nazionale).* FLORENCE.

From this period date a number of other statues, such as the John the Baptist which he carved for Manetti, his first patron (figs. 105 and 106). But the statues of the cathedral and the campanile, perhaps, are the most popular of any in this city full of works of art. They are larger than life-size and represent the prophets. According to Vasari, they are the portraits of his fellow-citizens. The one of Jeremiah in the middle is a bald man, said to be a portrait of one, Barcuccio, familiarly known as Zuccone. Another, that of Obadiah, was said by his contemporaries to be taken from a young man by the name of Francesco Soderini (fig. 96). We are told that Donatello held these statues in high esteem, particularly that of "Zuccone", by whom he was accustomed to swear when he

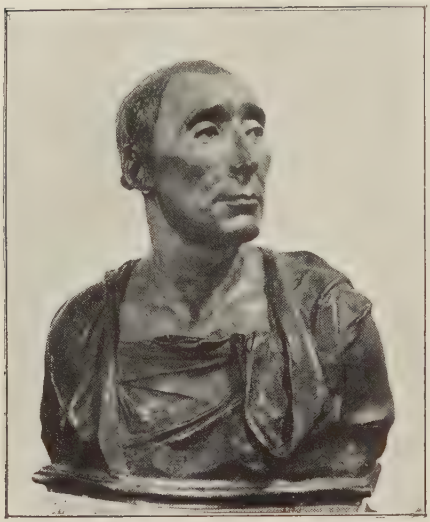


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Fig. 107. — Donatello. Supposed portrait of Niccola Uzzano. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

was particularly anxious to be believed. It may be that the resemblances ascribed to these prophets are merely conjectures; no authentic portrait by Donatello of his patrons, the Medici, nor of any of his other contemporaries has been preserved, as is the case with the sculptors of the following generation. Vasari, however, tells us of a bronze bust of the wife of Cosimo de Medici which was in the wardrobe or treasury of the Medici in his time, but it has since disappeared. The polychrome bust in the Museo Nazionale, supposed to be the portrait of Niccola da Uzzano (fig. 107), has been compared by Studniczka with a number of antique medals. It has been shown that Donatello here intended a portrait of Cicero, and that Niccola Uzzano, the Florentine humanist and a bitter enemy of the Medici, had nothing to do with this bust. But in some cases, even though they are representations of John the Baptist or other saints, it is evident that Donatello must have taken his inspiration from personages of high rank, such as in his marvelous boys (fig. 108).

We see that Donatello studied medals and bronzes as well as antique marbles, some of which he restored for Cosimo de Medici, but he was interested chiefly in the lively variety of nature itself. The attitudes of his figures are extremely natural, and the faces, whether or not they are the portraits of individuals, betray a state of mind and a knowledge of psychology unknown to the sculptors of antiquity. Possibly his figures suffer from the fact that he was obliged soon to attempt that perfection of type which the Greek and Roman sculptors only achieved after generations of effort. We are astounded when we remember that from the statues of Giovanni Pisano

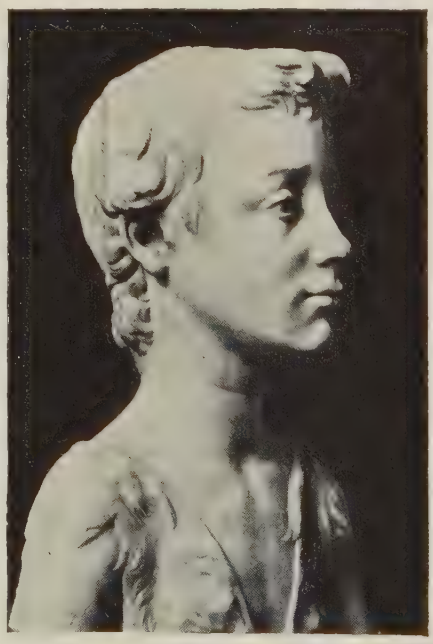


PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 108. — Donatello. John the Baptist. *(Museum of Faenza.)*

(which, excellent as they were, were almost Gothic) to the sculptures of Donatello, so modern in character, only a century intervened. The latter's biographer tells us that, "although in Greek and Roman times there had to be many sculptors before art could achieve perfection, he alone through the great quantity of his works brought back again a perfect and marvelous sculpture in our own century." The Florentine artist of the quattrocento appreciated the antique marbles as well or better than ourselves. Ghiberti, for example, describes a Roman statue in every detail and ends by telling us that "when the eye seems to have exhausted its beauty, the sense of touch perceives in it new perfections." Indeed, the appreciation of the quattrocentist sculptors for classical beauty was such that to them it seemed impossible to rival it. We still call them the quattrocentists for the want of any other name, for they were as far from ancient Roman art as they were from our modern realism which began with Michelangelo. Their decorations remained somewhat piquant, for the rules of pagan ornamentation had not yet been reestablished. In their friezes the garlands are delicate and rather flat, the ribbons, angular, and beading and egg-mouldings are profusely employed giving the sculptural themes a certain feminine note. Nowhere do we get so complete an impression of the Florentine quattrocento as in Donatello's charming relief of the Annunciation in S. Croce (fig. 109) which was so admired by Vasari. The lines are accentuated by light touches of gold; this bit of color alone, together with the skilful effect of light and shadow, gives the relief a polychrome appearance.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 109. — Donatello. The Annunciation. *(S. Croce.)* FLORENCE.

Donatello was not only the most characteristic sculptor of the Florentine quattrocento; he was also the propagandist and promoter of this art outside the province. In addition to his work at Rome he carved the pulpit on the corner of the façade of the cathedral of Prato about 1434. It rests upon a beautiful bronze capital and a series of brackets which project and support its rail. Between the small columns are reliefs of children dancing and singing (fig. 110). The Pisan pulpits of a purely ecclesiastical character with their evangelical



Fig. 110. — Pulpit by Donatello. Prato.

reliefs have developed into these charming tribunes where youthful grace holds sway. In each panel we find a new type of gaiety; it seems as though the marble itself softened to the movements of these boys, often quite unrestrained.

Even more beautiful, perhaps, than the pulpit at Prato is the tribune for the singers in the cathedral of Florence. He was entrusted with this work in 1433, and it is probable that he devoted to it the time spared from other undertakings down to the year 1440. It is a rectangular balcony sustained by five brackets between which are circular panels of colored marble which seem to be derived from the Roman pavements (fig. 111). The rail is also divided by small projecting columns behind which we find the theme of the pulpit at Prato with children singing and dancing. The background of this relief, instead of being of smooth marble, is of the same mosaic work as that decorating the little columns, like that of the Roman marble-workers. We are reminded everywhere of his sojourn in Rome; the general shape of the tribune is that of a Roman sarcophagus. The angels who sing and dance are extremely beautiful; the drapery and their delicate figures are finely carved. The entire composition, however, has suffered somewhat from being taken down and later restored in the Cathedral Museum. Donatello's Singing Gallery high up in the cathedral was meant to be viewed from a distance, and now that it can be closely approached, the movements of the figures seem altogether too exuberant and accentuated.

Donatello, as we have already noted, was to carry the principles of his art to other parts of Italy. His reputation spread all over the Peninsula. Marbles were brought from Naples which he carved and sent away again. But other more important commissions obliged him to leave his beloved Florence and reside for some time in the province of Venetia. He remained in Padua nearly ten years, where he executed a crucifix, the commission which brought him there, and a large altar, both of them cast in bronze. He also did a bronze Madonna seated upon a throne supported by sphinxes, and still later, the colossal equestrian statue of Erasmo da Marni, known as Gattemalata, which still stands on the square by the church of S. Antonio. This was the first time a Renaissance sculptor ventured to cast in bronze a horse larger than life. We can readily understand that the sight of the antique equestrian statues, especially that of Marcus Aurelius, must have stirred their ambition and awakened a desire to study the horse with a view of its artistic interpretation. At Padua Donatello had an excellent opportunity of this sort, for Venice is close by and here were the bronze horses of St. Marks which had been brought from Constantinople. It is likely also that he had before him some of the marble horses decorating the mediaeval tombs of Lombardy and Venetia. At any rate we are reminded of

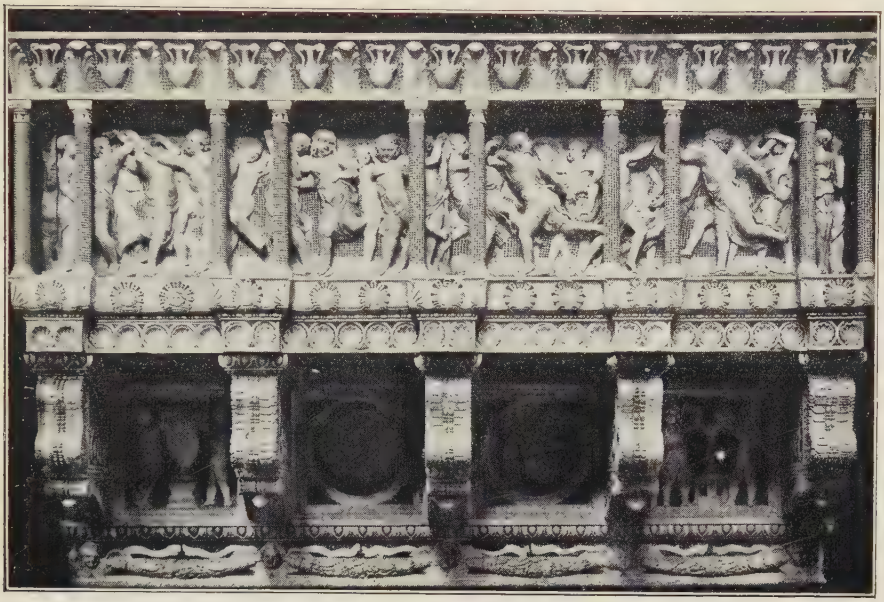


Fig. 111. — Donatello. Singers' Gallery of the cathedral. Florence.

them by his stone pedestal which is rather small for an equestrian statue and has somewhat the architectural form of a tomb. Upon this he set his horse which is admirable not only for its proportions, and because of the difficulty in casting a figure of that size, but also for the animation and beauty of the animal, particularly the "sbufamento e fremito" of the head which is turned toward one side. The figure seated upon the horse is that of an astute adventurer, and his sobriquet of Gattemalata is well applied. His attitude is one of command, but in the suspicious countenance we see more than power and energy; there is also the subtle diplomacy of a general of the Republic. From the heavy cuirass, adorned with a head of Medusa, rises the nervous neck of a keen man, and his eyes seem capable of penetrating the concealed ruse of an enemy. He is one to conquer by stratagem rather than by open force. (Plate VIII.)

After his return from Padua Donatello, who was now sixty-six years old, executed a number of bronzes for the church of S. Lorenzo which had been built by his patron, Cosimo de Medici. Before going to Padua he had already made some beautiful doors for this structure, although they are not so striking as those of the Baptistery. He did not have the feeling for landscape or atmospheric effect which Ghiberti introduced into sculpture, but he had begun to comprehend the great importance of the human body, the obsession of Michelangelo a century later. In the doors of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo the backgrounds are plain and the effect is attained by the form and relief of the figures themselves. Perhaps his only attempt at a pictorial style is in his last works, the pulpits which Cosimo de Medici commissioned him to make for the church of S. Lorenzo (fig. 112). These also have the form of a sarcophagus. In the moving

spectacle of the Passion some of the figures are lost in the background, while others invade the field in front of the pilasters. It is as though the tragic drama on Calvary set at naught the conditions of nature. In the scene of the Crucifixion angels fly about the three crosses with gestures of sorrow as in the frescoes at Assisi. The pictorial effect is skilfully produced; the crosses are almost in the full round and the light falls upon them in contrast to the other panel where the lower relief indicates darkness.

After he had completed the pulpits of S. Lorenzo, Donatello no longer had the spirit to undertake another important work. This delicate master of the Fifteenth Century had not the physical strength which enabled Michelangelo to work, struggle and suffer during his wearied old age. He had never managed his own affairs very well, and Vasari tells us that in his last years he lived upon the generosity of the Medici. At his death in 1466 he was buried at the feet of Cosimo who had been his life-long patron. The famous Florentine Maecenas was honored by the friendship of the greatest sculptor of the time. In the palace of the Medici were a number of his works; around the court of their palace between the arches there are still some circular reliefs which are supposed to be the work of Donatello. Here, too, was the bronze statue of David, now in the Museo Nazionale (fig. 113). The youthful shepherd wears a straw hat of a Florentine pattern and leaves of ivy. His curly locks are like those of an antique *ephebos,* and his foot rests upon the head of Goliath with its helmet. It is interesting to note that upon the giant's helmet is a relief representing the triumph of love, evidently inspired by some antique carving. The association of Donatello with the Medici was not merely one of artist and patron; it was rather the more intimate relation which was bound to arise between a patriotic Florentine

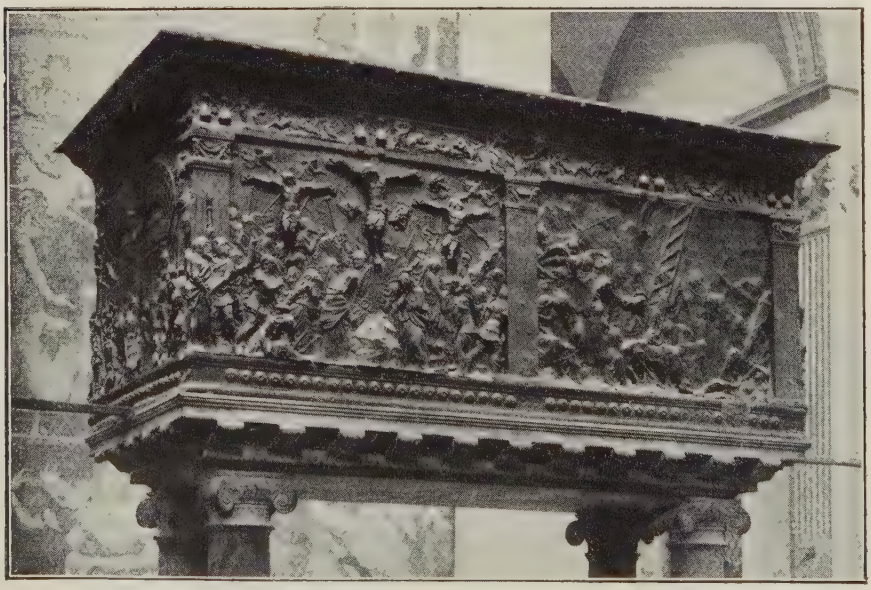


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Fig. 112.—Donatello. Pulpit of S. Lorenzo. FLORENCE.



Donatello. Statue of Gattemalata. PADUA.



Verrocchio. Statue of Colleone. VENICE.

artist and the promoters of the Florentine Renaissance. We cannot imagine Donatello spending his life at Rome as did Michelangelo. In spite of his power of expression and his restless spirit, he always preserves that tenderness which was the Florentine ideal of his century.

As a protegé of the Medici, Donatello's successor was another Florentine by the name of Andrea del Verrocchio. He it was who made the jewelry, trophies and allegorical paraphernalia employed by the Medici at the festivals given in Florence at the middle of the century. But in addition to his skill at goldsmith's work in early life he was a sculptor capable of producing fine work. His David is younger and more elegant than that of Donatello, with which its technique may well be compared. In this statue we see Verrocchio striving to surpass the great master. The position is the same in both (figs. 113 and 114). Each grasps the sword with which he has cut off the giant's head; but while Donatello's statue is that of a youthful and humble shepherd, Verrocchio's David is a nervous youth animated by a desire for glory. His appointments are elegant with his handsomely embroidered leather cuirass.



Fig. 113. — Donatello. David. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.



PHOTO OF THE AUTOGRAPHIC CO.

Fig. 114. — Verrocchio. David. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

Verrocchio also carved a number of tombs for the Medici, beginning with that of Cosimo which Donatello was too old to undertake. It was a simple monument as befitted the memory of one whose very name stands for an exalted position. This was followed by the tombs of Cosimo's wife and children as well as that of his relative, Tornabuoni, the representative of this illustrious family at Rome. But the most characteristic work of Verrocchio as a great sculptor is his equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleone at Venice. It is as dashing a



Fig. 115. — Church of St. John and Paul and statue of Bartolomeo Colleone, by Verrocchio. VENICE.

figure as that of Gattemalata at Padua, but more arrogant and dramatic than the astute warrior immortalized by Donatello. Verrocchio makes use of his skill as a goldsmith to equip the horse with a saddle and surcingle of rich inlaid work. The warrior on its back, armed to the teeth, has a haughty air as though entirely confident of his power. The face is no psychological portrait like that of Donatello's statue. Viewed closely, it is rugged and little modeled; few details are given. To appreciate it, the composition should be seen on the Venetian square, where horse and rider, raised upon the handsome marble pedestal, take on a magnificence that is lost in a reproduction (fig. 115 and Plate VIII). Verrocchio's equestrian statue only surpasses that of Donatello in its superior setting. At Padua the figure, set at the corner of an irregular little square, seems lost. The pedestal, too, although it may not be the work of Verrocchio, shows considerable progress if we compare it with the simple block, almost like a mortuary monument, which supports the statue of Gattemalata.

It seems strange that these two unique statues, both the work of Florentine artists, are to be found in Northern Italy, far from Florence. Later on, when Leonardo da Vinci, another Florentine, proposed in his turn to carve an equestrian statue, it was to Milan, also in Northern Italy, that he was called to execute the work. Here he made the plans and models of his famous *cavallo*, although it was never completed. As a matter of fact, it was the more energetic men of the North who demanded the heroic ideal of the condottieri and soldiers

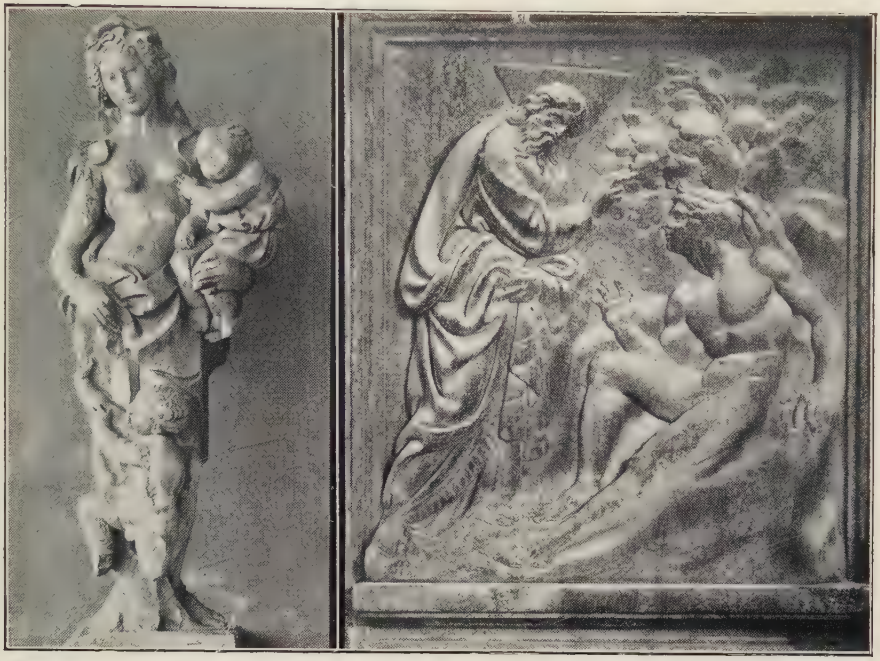


PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 116. — Della Quercia. *(Palazzo Pubblico.)* SIENA.

Fig. 117. — Della Quercia. Creation of Adam. *(S. Petronio.)* BOLOGNA.

of fortune. The Florentines were satisfied with the youthful David who overcame the giant with his wit, or simply with Cupid, Judith or Perseus.

Verrocchio died in Venice, where the labor and fatigue which he underwent in casting his horse shortened his days. His works are comparatively few, but as both painter and sculptor he influenced the generation immediately following. Upon his teaching depended such men as Leonardo da Vinci, Lorenzo di Credi and even Perugino.

Contemporary with these great Florentines of the quattrocento was that solitary Sienese who appeared like a meteor and whose art was stronger and ampler even than that of Donatello and his school. This was Jacopo della Quercia, who in his youth had been one of the competitors of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti for the commission of the doors of the Baptistery at Florence. Later he worked in Siena, particularly on a very beautiful fountain only fragments of which have been preserved (fig. 116). Finally he went to Bologna to decorate the façade of the church of S. Petronio which is his masterpiece, although he did not complete it (fig. 117). Jacopo della Quercia divided the base of this façade into panels each of which was to contain a Biblical theme. There were to be few figures in each panel, no more than two or three, but these were to fill the space entirely. Michelangelo was in Bologna for a long time and it is said that here he learned the Creation themes for his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Certainly the latter remind us of the style of Jacopo's unfinished façade.



PHOTO OF THE ROTOGRAPHIC CO.

Figs. 118 and 119. — Lucca della Robbia. Reliefs on the singing gallery of the cathedral. *(Museo del' Opera.)* FLORENCE.

Turning again to Florence, for after all Jacopo della Quercia was but an episode, the Fifteenth Century was still to produce a number of realistic masters in the art of sculpture. Just as Verrocchio was the successor of Donatello as a bronze-worker, so did another friend of his and of Ghiberti continue his elegance of style. This was Lucca della Robbia, the first of a famous family of artists whom we are inclined to associate in our minds with ceramic art and enameled terra-cotta especially. Nevertheless, before he turned to this art, Lucca carved some admirable marble reliefs; indeed, one of the documents of the period mentions him as a marble-worker. His first authentic sculptures are in marble. They are the reliefs of another "singing gallery" which the cathedral ordered of him in 1431, although they were not completed until 1438. This balcony was to be a companion-piece to that of Donatello (figs. 118 and 119). Our artist rendered anew the theme of singing children, and his reliefs even surpass those of Donatello in the deep feeling for music which they betray. They have not the exuberance of Donatello's reliefs; Lucca della Robbia was a more tranquil and religious artist, and he evidently had a more serene appreciation for music. One group of children blow trumpets, while others light-heartedly sing as though they knew no other hymns than the joyful songs of Christmas and Epiphany. But on the lateral rails, some larger boys, capable of understanding more serious music, follow absorbedly the notes of a written canticle. The smaller ones in front hold the roll of music, while those behind them look over their shoulders. Some unconsciously run their hands through their curly locks, and others beat



Fig. 120. — Lucca della Robbia. Madonna of S. Pierino. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

time with their hands or feet. Nowhere do we find so intense a rendering of vocal harmony in a marble sculpture. The childish voices seem to resound in prolonged concord; we see their very lips sounding the high and low notes.

This work alone would be enough to immortalize Lucca della Robbia and put him in a class with Donatello; but he executed a number of reliefs for the campanile as well and completed the bronze door of the sacristy of the cathedral which Donatello had left unfinished. In the latter especially he showed himself a worthy successor of the master. Soon, however, his love for delicacy led him to make terra-cotta reliefs with a glazed enamel, a work for which there was little precedent in Tuscany. Lucca della Robbia was no chemist, nor does he seem to have been of an inventive character, and we are still ignorant of the manner in which he produced his first glazed terra-cotta. The technique, however, was a very simple one; his models, executed in clay, were fired with light colors which were almost always the same, a white or blue background, flesh-tints of a transparent rose and the garments of simple uniform tones. The borders and frames of his panels are decorated with fruits, flowers, pine-branches and ears of grain of livelier and more variegated colors, such as we see in summer in the windows of the smiling villages round about Florence. The art of this family was a popular one; we still see terra-cottas from their shops in many of the cross-ways of Italy. Some of the most beautiful, like the Madonna of the Via del Agnolo or that of S. Pierino (fig. 120), are today in the National Museum, but until recently they remained in the open street respected by everyone. It seems astounding that the fragile terra-cotta Madonnas of the great Lucca remain intact after four centuries, their beautiful enamel still unmarred. Really in Lucca della Robbia's first works we find the grace of Florentine art at its height. His Madonnas are delicate Virgins with fine hands and softly modeled



Fig. 121. — Giovanni della Robbia. Frieze of the Seven Works of Mercy. *(Hospital del Ceppo.)* Pistoja.

faces. Adoring angels bear vases of flowers or fly about the gracious Queen of Heaven who has the slender form of a Tuscan maiden. In the color alone do we find a lack of distinction; the branches adorning the borders seem to be placed there by way of contrast, just as the Alexandrian artists loved buccolic themes. But the successors of Lucca, his nephew Andrea and his sons, were inferior to the master, and the artistic effect of their work is due principally to the charm which still persists and to the color-scale first employed by Lucca and continued by them. Their compositions were larger, great altar-pieces all glazed and friezes for the façades of buildings, such as the one representing the Seven Works of Mercy with its large medallions on the handsome portico of the hospital at Pistoja (fig. 121). This is a work of the early Sixteenth Century.

For more than a century we find this polychrome terra-cotta associated with the name Della Robbia. After Lucca's death, he left his shop to his nephew, Andrea, who had already collaborated with him in a number of important works. Andrea's productions were not so fine and delicate as those of Lucca; they have less of that stamp which Donatello set upon the Florentine sculpture of his time. Nevertheless, he still possessed the temperament of a great artist and one of noble aspirations. We see this in the inspired medallions on

the Misericordia at Florence. The innocent children here represented have become universally popular. Their appeal to simple minds is such that they have been vulgarized by countless repetitions. When the last great Florentine sculptors went for the most part to Rome, this elegant art became very popular in Florence, and in all Tuscany, for that matter. To the beauty of its polychrome decoration, inherited from Lucca and Andrea della Robbia, it added the advantages of cheapness and the facility with which it was installed as it was composed of smaller pieces and set together.



PHOTO OF THE ROTOGRAPHIC CO.

Fig. 122. — Agostino di Duccio. Madonna. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

This chapter has been largely devoted to the great masters of the Florentine quattrocento, such as Ghiberti, Donatello and Verrocchio, for the reason that it is difficult in a general work of this character to sum up in its entire scope a movement so complex as the one which we find in Florence during the Fifteenth Century. Instead of giving simply a long list of names, it has seemed preferable to dwell on the more illustrious examples and reproduce as many of their works as space permitted. Nevertheless, it seems a pity to pass unmentioned such men as the pupils of Donatello: Rossellino, Desiderio da Settignano, Mino di Giovanni, Agostino di Duccio and the Pollaiuolo family. All these artists brought to their decorative work that elegance and fineness so characteristic of greater sculptors like Donatello and Verrocchio. They executed mostly large tombs, some of their compositions filling an entire chapel like that of the Portuguese cardinal. It is the masterpiece of Antonio Rossellino and is in the church of S. Miniato near Florence. They also carved tombs which were set in handsome niches opened in the wall, such as those by Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano which were for Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini, secretaries of the Republic.

These quattrocentist decorators always followed the same scheme of dividing the architectural portion of their work into numerous friezes, brackets and panels which they ornamented with curled acanthus-leaves, garlands of flowers, egg-mouldings and palmettes. The simpler classical composition, with its entablature soberly set upon a series of columns or pilasters, which was so popular in the Sixteenth Century, had not yet appeared. The architectural lines were multiplied solely in order to furnish more space for decorations. The tympana and pilasters are divided into panels containing angels or allegorical figures,



Fig. 123. — Agostino di Duccio. Madonna. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

usually in extremely flat relief. These sculptors made every effort to give their reliefs an atmosphere of light and color, raising the figures as little as possible from their flat background. Often the effect was heightened by the discreet use of polychrome with light touches of blue and gold which accentuate the lines; or they filled the background with a subdued tone. But this was sometimes not feasible, and the background was filled with the shadows of the relief, the crests of knights or the wings of angels. Agostino di Duccio and Mino di Giovanni acomplished marvels in this sort of decoration. The reliefs of the former at Perugia and some of his plaques of Virgins and angels are considered to be among the finest examples of Florentine decorative art in the Fifteenth Century (figs. 122 and 123). These two masters contributed greatly to the spread of this decorative system throughout Tuscany. In addition to his work at Perugia, Agostino di Duccio took part at Rimini in the ornamentation of the temple of Malatesta, thus aiding in the dissemination of this style in Northern Italy. Mino di Giovanni, on the other hand, went down to Rome where he was called by the Florentine Pope, Pius II. This city is full of the works of Mino and his school; he it was who executed the tomb of Pius II (fig. 85) and the great mausoleum of Paul II in the old basilica of St. Peter. The latter was later destroyed, but we have fragments of it in the crypt of the present church. Giovanni Dalmata also collaborated in the work.

Mino di Giovanni was not a radiant master of delicacy and elegance as was the great Agostino di Duccio, but in work of a purely decorative character, such as his tombs, pulpits and balustrades, his art is admirable. The brackets and friezes with their vine-tendrils and delicate palmettes display a fine feeling that never wearies the beholder. The themes are repeated and architectural features occur in profusion, but his purity of line never fails to charm us.

A period such as this, in which the romanticism of classical antiquity was so strongly felt, would naturally tend to imitate it in all its artistic manifestations. The medals of the ancients were marvelous things, and these small bronzes of a commemorative character are still found quite often in the course of excavation.

In the Orient today there is a considerable trade in medals and coins of the Roman period, and the same was doubtless true five hundred years ago in Rome. Here the Florentine sculptors and collectors could easily procure Imperial medals and engraved stones, and, indeed, the Medici had a large collection of such objects.



Fig. 124.—Niccola Florentino. Medal of Alfonso d'Este.

The first to attempt to imitate the Roman medals was that remarkable painter and sculptor commonly known as Pisanello, whose paintings will be discussed in the following chapter. He signed himself *pictoris* even on his medals. He usually put on one side a bust of the personage in relief, while on the other he gave full rein to his fancy (figs. 125 and 126). Sometimes his medals were not dedicated to any particular person, but were only the pretext for attempting a solution of the difficulties entailed in developing an emblem or an allegory within the restricted area of a bronze disk. We also find a historical personage figuring as a Roman emperor or a prince; or, perhaps, merely some collector or humanist of secondary importance who wished to see himself immortalized upon a medal. It is interesting to note that the Popes shared this love for medals as did all the patrons of the Renaissance. At Naples Alfonso V of Aragon had a number of medals by various artists struck which rank among the best of that period. On their obverse side we see the Magnanimous King, his astute but idealized and rejuvenated countenance in low relief but with the characteristic aquiline nose. On the reverse side the eagles show the height to which the great Aragonese adventurer attained after his long campaigns in Italy. This classic land, which produced great men at every period, also ennobled those who, like Alfonso V of Aragon, came to its shores from distant lands.



Figs. 125 and 126.—Pisanello. Medals of Luigi and Cecilia Gonzaga.

Summary. — Tuscan sculpture which had originated at Pisa in the school of Niccola of Apulia developed a local character in Florence during the Fifteenth Century. The first sculptor of this period, which is generally known as the *quattrocento*, was Lorenzo Ghiberti, who executed two sets of doors for the baptistery at Florence. In the first set he did little more than begin to develop his style. In the last, however, which are on the principal façade, Ghiberti accomplished marvels in the development of perspective. The reliefs of these doors, called the "Gates of Paradise", revive the pictorial effect of the old Roman reliefs. Contemporary with Ghiberti was another talented sculptor, Donatello, who was the friend and protegé of Cosimo de Medici. During his long and active life he created a great number of works, all of which are of more than ordinary interest. We find in them a power of expression that is extraordinary. Among the best known are his statues of John the Baptist, the Prophets of the Campanile, the pulpit at Prato and the Singing Gallery of the cathedral of Florence, to say nothing of his works at Rome and Padua, particularly the equestrian statue of Gattemalata at the latter city. We should also mention his David and the pulpit of S. Lorenzo. After his death, Donatello was succeeded as official sculptor of the Medici family by another Florentine by the name of Verrocchio. His David and the famous equestrian statue of Colleone recall the similar works of Donatello. At Siena we find a precursor of Michelangelo in Jacopo della Quercia, and at Florence, another sculptor of the first rank by the name of Lucca della Robbia who originated the art of glazed terra-cotta figures and reliefs. The latter's work was carried on by his nephew, Andrea, and his descendents. Besides these men, a large number of excellent decorative artists spread the Florentine quattrocentist style of low reliefs with ornamental rows of palmettes, garlands and angels indefinitely outlined. Another manifestation of the quattrocentist decorative art was their medals with allegorical figures in relief. These were imitations of the ancient Roman medals.

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Fig. 127. — Medal of king Alfonso V of Aragon.



Fig. 128. — Masaccio. The tribute to Caesar. *(S. Maria del Carmine.)* Florence.

CHAPTER VI

FLORENTINE PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — MASACCIO, FRA ANGELICO, BENOZZO GOZZOLI, FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, FILIPPINO LIPPI, GHIRLANDAJO, BOTTICELLI, MELOZZO DA FORLI, PIERO DE' FRANCESCHI, PERUGINO AND PINTURICCHIO.

During all the Fifteenth Century, the period which the Italians call the quattrocento, the art of painting, like that of sculpture, had its centre in Florence. The art of this century was a genuinely Florentine product, and most of the artists who spread it to other parts of Italy owed their skill to the encouragement of Cosimo de Medici. The first painter of this period was a member of that group of which Donatello and Brunelleschi were the leading spirits. "Nature," writes Vasari, "when she creates a superior person, does not usually set him by himself. At the same time she surrounds him with others who are able to aid him and stimulate him by their power." Thus does the biographer of the Renaissance begin his life of the painter, Masaccio. In this manner does he explain the almost miraculous appearance of three such exceptional men as Masaccio, Donatello and Brunelleschi at the same time. Many anecdotes have come down to us of the intimate friendship existing between them. Brunelleschi was somewhat older than the others and, as we have already noted, the most sound minded of the group. He it was who taught Masaccio the laws of perspective and the rudiments of architecture needed to paint a background.

Masaccio seems to have been a man of extraordinary genius. He was only



Fig. 129. — Masaccio. Adam and Eve. *(S. Maria del Carmine.)* FLORENCE.

twenty-six when he died, but the entire century was influenced by his work. Annibale Caro, in his epitaph, calls him the master of Michelangelo and "so many other" illustrious men. Vasari praises his style saying he painted in so "modern" a manner, that his works would compare most favorably, both in draftsmanship and coloring, with any modern painter. By modern, Vasari meant the style of his contemporaries such as Raphael and Michelangelo and his school. Masaccio's influence on the painters of this entire period is the more surprising when we consider the scarcity of his work; it seems almost mysterious. When this youthful painter died, he left no monument, like Brunelleschi's dome, which should testify to his genius. Nor did he, like Donatello, spend a long life turning out a multitude of works of the most varied character.

He died so young that we can understand why, even in Vasari's time, so few of his works were known, and even some of those ascribed to him by the great biographer have been attributed by modern criticism to other painters. Fortunately, however, we still have his frescoes in the Brancacci chapel of S. Maria del Carmine at Florence, and these have always been considered his most important work. It is a rather dark lateral chapel, and the frescoes upon its walls were begun by another Tuscan artist. The latter was Masolino, a mysterious person who left them to go on a journey to Hungary. Masaccio went on with the work, but it was again interrupted, and it was not until half a century later that the decoration of this chapel was completed by Filippino Lippi. On these walls, covered with pictures, we may discern the portions executed by the different artists. They were studied by later painters; here Michelangelo learned the arrangement of drapery and could see the human form portrayed with a lofty realism. The first impression of these frescoes of Masaccio is almost a disappointment. In the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, the nude figures are drawn in such perfect perspective and so correctly colored, that we do not see anything remarkable about them, so accustomed are we to the accuracy of the later work of the Renaissance (fig. 129).

In the large compositions close by, in which we see Peter paying the tribute

and John and Peter giving alms to the poor of Jerusalem, Masaccio's figures are seen in the most natural surroundings. In the background are buildings drawn in perspective; only from their architectural style do we recognize them as being of the early Fifteenth Century. They are so correctly drawn that they seem much later. The figures of the apostles are clad in full mantles, the large folds of which fall majestically to the ground like Roman togas and without a trace of rigidity. The classical spirit of Brunelleschi evidently inspired this young painter; he, too, took the antique marbles for his models (fig. 130). Masaccio seems to have learned more from the Roman frescoes and statues than he did from the paintings of his Florentine predecessors who were so filled with the spirit of Giotto and his school. For in spite of his extraordinary genius, Giotto was still an artist of the Middle Ages. The keen expressions of his personages interest us more than does the drawing of their forms, and the same is true of his pupils' works. For the first time since the classical period of antiquity do we find a feeling for color and form as they exist in nature. Instead of the ingenuous landscapes lacking in air and light, and the miniature buildings painted by Giotto and his pupils, we see in his work the desire for natural surroundings. Bright colors are softened by distance, and there are no reflections nor gilding. The fabrics themselves appear opaque and without ornamentation; he is the first painter since ancient times to understand the treatment of folds of cloth caused by the weight of the fabric.



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Fig. 130. — Masaccio. The Apostles giving alms. *(S. Maria del Carmine.)* FLORENCE.

We can well imagine what an innovation all this was after a century of painting in the style of Giotto and his school; it almost seems an anticipation of the style and methods of the school of Raphael. Indeed, the Roman artists of the following century were the real successors of Masaccio; we shall see how all during the Fifteenth Century the Florentine painters remained faithful to the traditions of Giotto. Only in a very slight degree did they take over the classical spirit of Masaccio. If he had lived longer, he might have exerted a greater influence upon his immediate successors; but it was too soon; even Donatello was still a restless agitated spirit whose ideal was far from that of the youthful painter who was his friend. So we see that Masaccio, as Vasari tells us, did not belong to the period in which he lived; it was a case of anticipation which natur-



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Fig. 131. — Fra Angelico. The Nativity and the Betrothal of the Virgin. Base of the altar-piece of the Annunciation. *(Museo del Prado.)* MADRID.

ally could not endure. In addition to the frescoes of the Brancaccio chapel at Florence, we also find ascribed to this painter some of the paintings in the church of S. Clemente at Rome, although they seem rather to be the work of Masolino. Then there is the painting on wood in the Museum of Naples, the one which Vasari cites as having been so highly praised by Michelangelo and formerly in S. Maria Maggiore. Whether authentic or doubtful, this is all that has come down to us from Masaccio. But even this reveals an exceptional genius whose work stands out superior to the art of this century. "We have suffered the greatest of losses," wrote Brunelleschi at his death, who keenly felt the value of this artist to Florence. The perspicacious architect seems to have foreseen that many years would pass before another artist would appear who would be capable of taking up the task where Masaccio left it.

Indeed, it was not long after Masaccio that we see Fra Angelico with his unusual love for beauty and remarkable skill, but he never progressed beyond the repertory of Giotto and his school. Nowhere do we find preserved such an affection for the old subjects and methods of painting as in the works of that Fifteenth-century Florentine painter and mystic, Fra Angelico of Fiesole.

He was born in 1387 in the town of Vecchio not far from Florence. At the age of twenty he entered the order of St. Dominic and passed his novitiate at Cortona. He appears to have shown some aptitude for painting before he became a monk; but when he was exiled with the other Dominicans of Fiesole, he went to Foligno near Assisi, where he was able to become familiar with Giotto's frescoes. Here among the gently rolling hills of Umbria, Fra Angelico learned to know the landscape which he idealized in his backgrounds, scenes filled with



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Fig. 132.—Fra Angelico. Adoration of the Magi. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

small trees and low mountains, and gilded with the light of a transparent sky, while the gleam of Lake Trasimene often appears in the distance.

The charm of Fra Angelico's paintings lies principally in their coloring. The devout monk was evidently the master of every secret of the technique, for his altar-pieces still retain all their freshness. Not so desirous of improvement as to seek new expedients, nor yet one to be satisfied with faulty pigments, his frescoes and paintings on wood seem as new and fresh as the day they were painted. His subjects were always religious ones; he, more than any other, was the painter of the Gospels. "He always practiced the art of painting, but he never sought to portray other than religious subjects." He was vigorous, most gentle, as Vasari says, and withal sober and chaste, often saying that tranquility was necessary in art and that "the painter of Christ should be always with Him." Vasari cites the interesting circumstance that he never retouched his pictures, but preserved every detail unaltered just as he had originally painted it, believing that each one had been inspired by the will of God.

This humble Dominican friar came to have an extraordinary reputation. His fame spread throughout Italy, and he was summoned by the Pope to work at Rome. He was also given commissions by the chapter of Orvieto and by the most wealthy communities of Tuscany. He executed many paintings on wood for the altars of various monastic churches; the beautiful altar-piece of the Annunciation, now in the Museum of Madrid, came from his monastery at Fiesole. Here we find preserved another altar-piece representing the Virgin surrounded by saints. The two in the Louvre, the Coronation of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, are from the same convent. The large one in the Accademia delle Belle Arti at Florence was painted by Fra Angelico for the Carmelite



Fig. 133. — Fra Angelico. The Madonna of the Star. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

monastery in the valley of the upper Tiber called the Casentino. In his altar-pieces Fra Angelico usually developed a single large composition with numerous figures, all carefully drawn down to the last detail. In the face, the gesture, and even in the color of the garments of each we see symbolically portrayed the religious story of the life of that particular personage. But in spite of all these minute details the paintings never lose their magnificence. The many colors are dissolved in celestial light. The backgrounds, too, are bright; in the Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre there is a high marble throne set in a gold field; in others the background is the blue or gold sky over which pass radiant clouds with the vivid contrast of reality. A beautiful feature of these altars is often the *predella*, a band of compositions in miniature, which serves as a graceful pedestal for the large icon (fig. 131). Here, freed from the necessity of adapting the composition to the effect it will have on the altar, we see scenes from the life of the Virgin or of Christ. The artist never wearies of producing in an exquisitely new manner those old Giottesque themes with which his heart was filled.

Thus, for example, we see in the *predella* in the Prado at Madrid those *storiette bellissime* which Vasari so admired. We reproduce two of them to show where Fra Angelico held to the sacred themes fixed by Giotto and yet to what extent he altered them. In the Betrothal of the Virgin (fig. 131) we see at one side of the couple and the high priest the group of unsuccessful suitors breaking their wands, throwing them in the air, and one of them even strikes angrily at the shoulder of Joseph, just as in Giotto's pictures. The scene of the Epiphany is a freer product of the imagination (fig. 132). But the personages of these compositions are always illuminated by a light that seems supernatural. How far they are from the powerful realism of Masaccio and his vivid contrast of light and shadow.

Fra Angelico, nevertheless, shows a great advance over the Giottesque painters of the preceding century. The backgrounds of his flowery landscapes have a richness that is vastly superior to the abbreviated panoramas of Giotto and his school. The fact is, that in addition to this material world of ours, there

existed for Fra Angelico another and higher one, the celestial empyrean, peopled by beings who were as real to him as persons we meet every day are to us. Consider his Madonna crowned by her Son amid a court of angels or his Madonna among angel musicians. The Queen of Heaven is enveloped in a celestial light so brilliant that among the materials of this earth only gold can give us any idea of its refulgence (fig. 133). Why should such an artist give any thought to the effects of light and perspective on this mundane sphere, as did Masaccio? Would that the world might become like heaven, that things might be seen enveloped in that luminous atmosphere which inundates the Kingdom of the Blessed! This is the spirit of his Coronation in the Louvre, his Madonna of the Star, and all the altar-pieces from the hand of the angelic painter; they are all enamelled visions of the Celestial Realm.

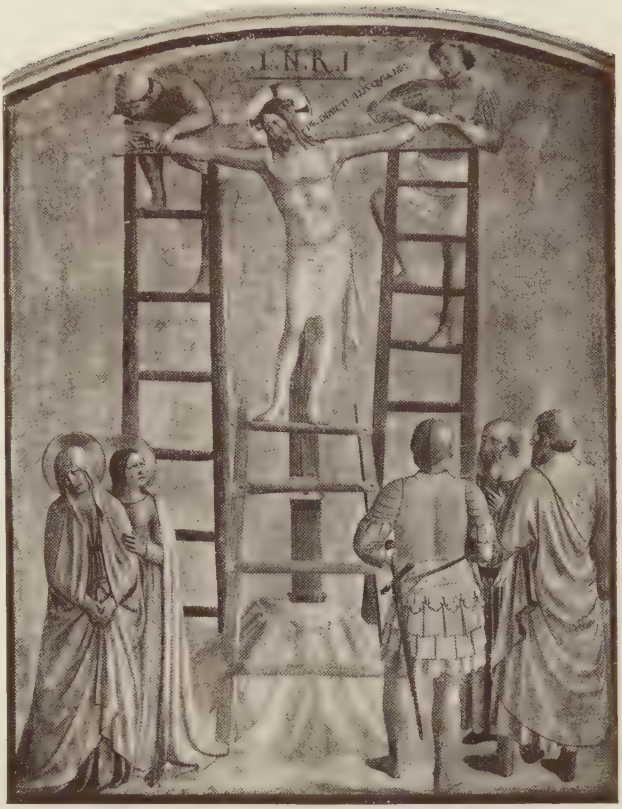


Fig. 134.—Fra Angelico. Christ on the Cross.
(Monastery of S. Marco.) FLORENCE.

But it is not in these isolated altar-pieces that we find the best work of the mystical painter, but rather in the monastery of S. Marco which the Dominican friars of Fiesole had in the city of Florence and which was decorated by Fra Angelico. The building, which had belonged to the Silvestrine monks, was transferred under Cosimo de Medici to the Dominicans and restored by Michelozzo. But the white walls of this monastery are as though they had been planned to receive Fra Angelico's frescoes, for there are no sculptural decorations. In spite of the bareness of these rooms today, for the religious community has been dispossessed, these paintings alone would make it a national monument. The interesting thing is the humility with which the frescoes have been painted. The walls are not divided into panels by mouldings, but each composition on the white walls is framed only by a simple colored border (fig. 134). In each vacant cell we find a remarkable fresco representing a scene from the Gospels, and in



Fig. 135. — Fra Angelico. St. Dominic worshipping Christ crucified. *(Cloister of S. Marco.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 136. — Fra Angelico. Christ as a pilgrim. *(S. Marco.)* FLORENCE.

many of them a Dominican friar figures, as though to remind the inmate that he too should never cease to contemplate the life of Christ. In an Annunciation found in one of these cells, St. Peter the Martyr appears behind some columns in ecstasy at the sight of the angel who speaks to Mary. At the foot of the cross kneels the founder of the order alone; he embraces it and his face is bathed in tears as he looks upon the body of the Lord. It is an intensely moving scene; indeed, this may well be one of the Crucifixions which, tradition has it, Fra Angelico painted kneeling (fig. 135).

Over the doors of the cloisters are other paintings by Fra Angelico. We see the holy leaders of the Order teaching the Christian virtues by their example. In these simple themes the painter created a series of marvelous figures; in one of the lunettes is a representation of St. Peter the Martyr which is so expressive that it has been widely copied. The Saint sets his finger upon his lips to remind the brothers of the virtue of silence. Over one of the doors two of the brothers receive Jesus who is clad as a pilgrim. The type is one of radiant beauty. His hair and beard are fair, and he tenderly extends his arms toward his hosts (fig, 136). In the refectory Fra Angelico painted the Crucifixion with all the saints of the Dominican Order. These with the patriarchs and saints witness the tragedy on Calvary and give it a value of permanent reality. Every day Christ dies for the sinner; the sacrifice is not an isolated historical fact, but an expiatory act at which all Christendom is always present. Even the landscape of this Crucifixion by Fra Angelico has a certain universal value; it is the desert wilderness of death, watered by the blood

which flows from the wood of the Cross. Below this scene is a series of portraits of leaders of the Order, some of them, like St. Antoninus, contemporaries of the painter.

These frescoes in the monastery at Florence constitute the most important series we have of the works of Fra Angelico, but by good fortune there is still preserved in the Vatican a chapel entirely decorated by frescoes from his hand. It has remained intact in spite of the radical alterations undergone by the pontifical palace during the Sixteenth Century. It was Nicholas V, the humanist Pope and friend of the Florentines, who commissioned Fra Angelico to paint his private chapel.



Fig. 137. — Fra Angelico. Sixtus II turns over the treasure of the Church to St. Lawrence. *(Chapel of Nicholas V. Vatican.)*

Fra Angelico's stay in Rome lasted something over ten years, including several interruptions, which gave him the opportunity to execute other works as well. In summer, when the weather was oppressive, he probably stayed at the neighboring papal city of Orvieto, where he was commissioned to decorate a chapel. He made a few journeys to Florence, no doubt, but soon returned to Rome where the Pope required his presence for the decoration of his private chapel in the interior of the palace.

This work by Fra Angelico in the Vatican remains intact; enclosed by later constructions, it is still a charming quattrocentist corner close to the Sistine Chapel and the Logge and Stanze of Raphael. Throughout the various additions and restora-



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 138. — Fra Angelico. Fragment of the scene of St. Lawrence giving alms. *(Chapel of Nicholas V. Vatican.)*



Fig. 139. — Benozzo Gozzoli. Fresco-painting in the Campo Santo. Pisa.

tions, the small oratory has been left unharmed. Through a single lofty window enters the soft light; the chapel is a small one, and at one glance the eye takes in the peaceful series of Fra Angelico's frescoes which cover the four walls and ceiling. The subjects chosen are also worthy of the great Pope who built the chapel and of the devout painter whom he summoned to decorate it. Although it was the oratory of the head of the Church, we do not find evangelical scenes or those of the lives of Peter and Paul; instead, we see developed scenes from the life of the priest. It is as though he intended to indicate that the Pope was also a priest, superior in rank, but not in quality, to the other priests of the Church of God. The walls are divided into horizontal bands and panels after the manner of Giotto, but the colors are something new. Fra Angelico did not have the expressive and tragic power of Giotto; his figures are filled with confidence, love and devotion. The secondary personages are especially beautiful. Here, where the painter has descended from evangelical themes to the lives of the saints, these secondary personages are taken from life. In the scene of St. Lawrence giving alms to the poor we have actual portraits of the populace, although they are filled with that religious feeling produced by charity in the minds of simple souls. In the picture where the Pope confides the treasures of the Church to S. Lawrence, the acolytes of the pontiff seem to be portraits of contemporary Roman *monsignori*. One of them uneasily turns away his head; it was a time of persecution, and the two executioners knock at the



Fig. 140. — Benozzo Gozzoli. The building of the Tower of Babel. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

door in search of the Pope. St. Lawrence, who kneels before the pontiff, wears a tunic ornamented with little flames which foreshadow the approaching martyrdom of the deacon (fig. 137).

Fra Angelico died in Rome and was buried in the church of the Minerva. The humanist Pope, Nicholas V, composed his epitaph, and he was soon canonized. A devout Christian painter, he served God with his brush winning fame on earth and glory in heaven.

There is a rather curious reservation made by Vasari at the end of his life of Fra Angelico. "I should not wish," he remarks, "anyone to deceive himself into interpreting that which is insipid and inept as devout, nor that which is beautiful and good as wanton." It is as though he would warn us against worthless imitators of ingenuous piety and against criticism of nude beauty.

"Fra Angelico died," writes Vasari, "at the age of sixty-eight, in the year 1445, leaving among his pupils one, Benozzo Gozzoli, who always imitated *la sua maniera.*" This painter had aided the master as an apprentice at Orvieto and Rome, as we learn from documents as well, and was his real successor, although he lacked the devout spirit which filled the soul of the great Dominican. From Fra Angelico Gozzoli learned the ingenuous grace of his compositions, the minute details with which he embellished his charming figures, the bright coloring and the acute observation of human types in all their variation, but he did



Fig. 141.—Benozzo Gozzoli. The Vintage. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

not have the divine touch which filled the pictures of his master with a marvelous idealism. Benozzo Gozzoli was, first of all, a decorator; he painted few altar-pieces for churches. His importance was rather that he was one of the last great successors of Giotto. He enriched with figures and colors the paneled surfaces of the monuments of his time. In the backgrounds of his frescoes we find a profusion of architecture and endless decorations with every detail beautifully drawn in perspective, the laws of which were completely determined in his time. Buildings also occur in the backgrounds of Fra Angelico, but the Christian painter preferred a flowery landscape. His pupil ran to porticos and façades, exaggerating the architecture of his time with a profusion of garlands and semi-classical decorations (fig. 139).

The frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli are divided into three main series. The first is in the Franciscan monastery at Montefalco in Umbria, where he produced in a new manner the Giottesque themes of the life of St. Francis. The second is at San Gimignano in Tuscany; here he portrayed the life of St. Augustine. The third and most important is at Pisa. On the walls of the Campo Santo which Orcagna and Simone Martini had begun to paint during the previous century, there was still a space left undecorated in the wing of the cloister facing the East. Here we find the most extensive and best known series of Gozzoli's works. No less than twenty-four large compositions cover the great wall of the cloister. The scenes are taken from the Old Testament and, for the most part, from the first books of the Bible. The last, and most poorly preserved, are the fight with Goliath and the visit of the Queen of Sheba. A peculiar feature is that the high wall of the Campo Santo is not divided into horizontal bands, as Giotto's school would have done, but the scenes have the height of the wall itself. This required the figures to be larger than natural size, and in the backgrounds are buildings in profusion and interminable distant landscapes. The general composition is rather vague; the painter sometimes loses himself in the excessive spreading of the central idea in lateral groups, particularly in the frescoes of Noah and the Vintage. Sometimes, too, the figures are assembled in

a compact mass without centralizing the interest, as in the scene of the Tower of Babel (figure 140). But the charm of this work by the lay-pupil of Fra Angelico lies in the various elements of the composition. When the beholder wearies of contemplating the scene as a whole and examines the figures of the Tower of Babel singly, he experiences a pleasure so exquisite that he fully pardons the faults of composition. Many of these figures must be portraits; at least we recognize members of the Medici family and their friends. Pisa had just accepted the light yoke of Florence and recognized her preeminence. We can understand, too, that the Florentines, especially the Medici, would from now on look upon Pisa as another fatherland and wish to figure in the decorations of the Campo Santo which had formerly been one of the main preoccupations of the Pisans. A number of the figures of Noah's Vintage are famous. At one side of the patriarch two beautiful women carry baskets filled with purple grapes. The vintagers stand on ladders to pick the bunches which grow just as they are still cultivated in Italy. In the background is the landscape covering the slopes of the Tuscan Apennines. Except for the figure of Noah with his nimbus and patriarchal garments, we might believe ourselves on the estate of a rich Tuscan *possidente* in September, when the fields and houses seem saturated with the penetrating odor of new wine (fig. 141).



Fig. 142. — Gozzoli. Lot's wife. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

It is for these accessory figures that Gozzoli enjoys such great renown in the history of painting. The beautiful wife of Lot (fig. 142), a robust matron worthy of those early days, and Potiphar's wife, who reclines with breast uncovered while Joseph makes his escape, are never to be forgotten. Joseph is a type characteristic of the youthful *garzoni* so often represented in the frescoes of this painter (fig. 144).

Benozzo Gozzoli spent the sixteen years from 1468 to 1485 in the decoration of this wall of the Campo Santo. The series actually required all this time, for it is immense. It is still in a fairly good state of preservation except for the last compositions at the north end which have been injured by



Fig. 143. — Gozzoli. Portrait of himself.



Fig. 144. — Benozzo Gozzoli.
Potiphar's wife. *(Campo Santo.)* Pisa.

dampness. But in the remains there is a whole world of figures, a vast agglomeration of patriarchs and giants thrown together indiscriminately as in the early days of the world when society was as yet unorganized.

But if in these excessively large compositions of the Campo Santo the keen painter of anecdotal details loses himself, we still have another of his works which is sufficient to immortalize him as a genius and put him among the most fortunate painters of every period. This is the series of frescoes in the chapel of the palace of the Via Lata at Florence which Michelozzo built for Cosimo de Medici and is now known as the Palazzo Ricardi after the last family which inhabited it. This chapel which was decorated by Gozzoli is also a small room. It is poorly lighted, but the vivid paintings on its walls still make it one of the most precious gems of art preserved in Florence. While the Pisa frescoes are somewhat discolored and spoiled by the dampness of the open cloister, here the colors have lost nothing of their freshness, and the gold, greens and reds of the pupil of Fra Angelico are still resplendent. The theme is a very simple one; a cavalcade of wealthy gentlemen, supposed to represent the Magi, come to worship the Virgin and Child depicted on the altar. The subject is but a pretext to present these Florentine nobles and magnates. The three kings are members of the Medici family, old Cosimo and his sons, Piero and Lorenzo. The last is little more than a youth and wears a large crown of roses, while his horse is caparisoned with the arms of the Medici (figs. 145 and 146). They are followed by a large number of the retainers and friends of the family; in the foreground are the most illustrious of them, such as the Emperor, John Palaeologus, and the patriarch of Constantinople who had come to Florence to attend the Council and discuss the reuniting of the two Churches. The others are simply members of the household or citizens of the Medici faction; among them we see the artist himself. What we have here is more than a devout painter's vision of the evangelical legend of the Magi; it is one of those sumptuous cavalcades so often seen in Florence during the Golden Age of this city. In the background are fanciful rocks and tall straight pines like those of the Tuscan forests of Vallombrosa and the Casentino; beside them, however, grow orange trees, as though to indicate to the beholder that he is still in the temperate climate of Central Italy. Fra Angelico, no doubt, would



Fig. 145. — Benozzo Gozzoli. Fragment of the Journey of the Magi. Piero de Medici. *(Palazzo Riccardi.)* FLORENCE.

have intensified the lovely coloring and magnified the luxurious details of the Adoration in the palace of Cosimo de Medici, but he certainly would have disapproved of the worldly, not to say pagan, air of this procession. He painted the Kings prostrate at the feet of the Divine Child and thinking of nothing else; to confuse the matter by introducing the portraits of real persons, and even glorify them in the picture, would have seemed a profanation to the devout Dominican painter.

The cavalcade of the Magi was not without its antecedents, however. Benozzo Gozzoli was not the man to create a theme at one attempt. In the Accademia at Florence is a painting on wood by an Umbrian artist named Gentile da Fabriano. It represents the Adoration of the Magi, and here we also find a long cortege accompanying the three Kings, while in the background we see the cavalcade on the way, approaching the city of Herod. This Adoration by Gentile da Fabriano was formerly in the church of S. Trinità at Florence, and Gozzoli doubtless learned from it the decorative effect which it was possible to obtain by painting an agglomeration of horses, servants and the like (fig. 147) This icon by Gentile is smaller than the frescoes in the chapel of the Medici which cover three walls; but the Kings who have dismounted from their horses before the Virgin wear the same richly embroidered garments and high crowns resplendent with jewels. Gentile da Fabriano was a mysterious person; this marvelous work from the church of S. Trinità is almost his only one. Here alone



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Fig. 146.—Benozzo Gozzoli. Cavalcade of the Magi. Lorenzo de Medici.
(Palazzo Riccardi.) FLORENCE.

does he show himself as a great painter: there are at Milan and Pisa two other works by him, but they seem only the productions of a mediocre personality. In the icon at Florence the coloring is light, more transparent even than that of Fra Angelico; the refinement and elegance of style and even the arrangement of the entire composition reveal the great artist. But like some others who painted many more pictures than he did, he is the master in but a single work. The spirit of genius is like the wind which "bloweth where it listeth, and thou... canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." Often, indeed, it blows but once in a lifetime.



Fig. 147. — Gentile da Fabriano. Adoration of the Magi. *(Accademia.)* Florence.

Gentile da Fabriano worked in the north of Italy and even in Venice; to him is due the delicate art of Pisanello at Verona, but we have already mentioned this artist in the preceding chapter.

Pisanello's name came from his father who was a Pisan who had settled in Verona. We have seen how he signed his medals *Opus pisani pictoris,* so he evidently considered himself a Pisan rather than a native of Venetia and a painter rather than an engraver of medals. It was Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello who sowed the seed of the Florentine art of the quattrocento in Northern Italy. Thus the school of painting which grew up in Venice at the end of the Fifteenth Century always retains a flavor, a certain delicacy, characteristic of the Florentine paintings of this period.

The object of this digression has been to show how the art of Central Italy began to take root outside of Tuscany. We will now go on with our survey of Florentine painting, taking up the life of a man of the most turbulent character, but in whose pictures and frescoes we find the Florentine ideal portrayed with an almost feminine tenderness and grace and in a most original manner. This was a Carmelite monk by the name of Filippo Lippi. Vasari takes pains to



Fig. 148. — Fra Filippo Lippi. Virgin, Child and St. John. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

inform us fully of his sins and repentances, but he admires his pictures without reserve.

In addition to the frescoes by Gozzoli already discussed, the chapel of the Medici contained another treasure. This was the altar-piece representing the Virgin and Child which is now in the Museum of Berlin (fig. 148), the work of the agitated Filippo Lippi. It was toward this altar-piece that Gozzoli directed his slowly moving cavalcade. Filippo Lippi was one of the friars of the very convent where we find the frescoes of Masaccio. He may have learned from the master that admirable technique which is the basis of his art; but his spirit was of a more personal character. His feeling for nature was a most original one, and it is this appreciation which causes his work to stand out from that of the other painters of his century. It takes the form of a persistent youthful romanticism

and is almost exotic in some aspects. His Virgins are always pale colorless little girls with a transparent skin. They fold their soft hands as they gaze in surprise upon the new-born Child; indeed, they seem unable to comprehend the fact of their maternity. The accessory figures are much less interesting; only in the Adoration from the chapel of the Medici (the one now in Berlin) do we find a figure like that of John the Baptist. Here the latter is an intelligent child with a rounded form, but the landscape is of a fanciful beauty, illuminated by mysterious lights. His phosphorescent trees and rocks seem like an anticipation of the romantic backgrounds of Leonardo. The ground is carpeted with flowers and the light falls almost vertically from the opening in a dark sky in which appear the Father and the Holy Spirit. As in the frescoes of Gozzoli, the trees are the native pines, and on the ground are flowering plants among the rocks denuded by winter.



PONTO BROGI

Fig. 149. — F. Lippi. Madonna. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

It may well be this deep love for nature, for that which is free from all restraint, which gives to Fra Filippo's pictures that atmosphere of youth and an almost precocious maturity. In a number of his Madonnas we find the same woman who seems to have been Lorenza Butti, a nun from Prato. They were afterward married, when Pope Pius II released them from their vows at the instance of the Medici (figs. 149 and 150).

We find the qualities of Fra Filippo in a more exaggerated form and even his ideal in one of the first works of his son, Filippino. Here we see the Virgin appearing to St. Bernard; the picture is one in the church of La Badia at Florence and is an admirable example of idealistic realism (fig. 151). St. Bernard bows his head before the figure of the Virgin in surprise, although it is hardly to be wondered at that she should appear to inspire the book on which he is at work, for he has often communed with her in prayer. The Virgin takes the form of a delicate Florentine lady with a long pale neck; her golden hair escapes and is hardly held in place by the transparent veil she wears. The nimbus is crystaline, and the light is attenuated, throwing into relief the fine hands, resplen-



Fig. 150. — Filippo Lippi. Nativity. *(Accademia.)* Florence.

dent garments and even the rock which separates these holy personages from the accessory figures in the background. Only the donor, a devout person with folded hands, witnesses the scene. Only half his body appears and that close to the ground. We are reminded of Fra Filippo's picture in the Accademia in which a similar character hides behind a rock as he looks on (fig. 150). Both in the landscape and technique Filippino is far in advance of his father, and his skill was put to the proof when he was commissioned to go on with the decoration of the Brancacci chapel in S. Maria del Carmine. The reader will recall that both Masolino and Masaccio had worked on these without completing them. Here, however, Filippino abandoned entirely the style of Fra Filippo as well as his aimless and agitated manner. He became influenced by Masaccio to such an extent that both the style and coloring of one is sometimes mistaken for that of the other. It has already been noted earlier in this chapter how difficult it was to determine which was the work of Masaccio, Masolino and Filippino Lippi in the frescoes of the Brancacci chapel. This seems strange when we remember that they are not only the work of different artists, but also suffered more than half a century of interruption.

Nevertheless, by the second half of the Fifteenth Century we find in Florence a well defined ideal of both life and art. Nor is this ideal any longer confined to a patron like Cosimo de Medici and a few superior spirits like Brunelleschi, Masaccio and the erudite humanists who flocked around Cosimo; among the noble families, the middle class and even the populace is diffused a new criterion of life at once free as well as dedicated to both the intellect and an aristocratic love for beautiful forms. Indeed, this was the supreme moment of this amiable and refined Florentine civilization noted for its poems, gems and paintings. During the formative period, Cosimo was followed by his sons Piero and Lorenzo, who were both great lovers and artists. Beauty was now more easily attained; it no longer required the same struggle as in the first years of the century. Rebellious, half-tragic genius, like that of Donatello, had given place to more subtile spirits who had behind them a certain historical past; these

could now take advantage of the great moment which it was to be their privelege to immortalize.



Fig. 151. — Filippino Lippi. St. Bernard and the Virgin. *(La Badia)*. Florence.

That Fifteenth-century Florence which we see in disguise in the Adoration by Gozzoli was to throw aside its mask in the works of two great masters of the next generation. These were Domenico Ghirlandajo and Alessandro Botticelli, the sons of a shoemaker and a cooper, but they were raised by their art to the friendship and favor of the most aristocratic families of Florence. Both were summoned to Rome in 1481 to paint in collaboration with Perugino the frescoes on the lateral walls of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican; but their art appeared to better advantage in Florence, so we shall discuss only the pictures which they painted in their own city.

Ghirlandajo, who is somewhat more balanced than Botticelli, seems to remain apart from the great picture of Florentine life which he illustrated. We get a clear idea of his education and spirit from the altar-piece representing the Adoration of the Shepherds. This was formerly in the Sassetti Chapel in the church of S. Trinità which was decorated by Ghirlandajo, but it is now in the Accademia (fig. 152). His shepherds are the simple country folk whom the city dweller loves to see among their flocks. The Virgin is a delicate young Florentine lady with elegance of bearing. In the distance we see the cavalcade of the Magi against a panorama of Tuscan hills and villages. A triumphal arch dedicated to Pompey rises above the road. This as well as the inscribed sarcophagus and the classical columns supporting the roof of the stable indicate that the picture was painted after the artist's return from Rome. There is an Adoration of the Magi by Ghirlandajo in the Foundling hospital in which the subject is more symmetrically treated. The Kings, their attendants and the saints are distributed about a rather small figure of the Virgin who is sheltered by a roof supported by quattrocentist columns. Above is an angel choir (fig. 153).

In the chapel of the church of S. Trinità, where the Adoration of the Shepherds formerly stood, Ghirlandajo also portrayed the life of St. Francis. Here he introduced into his compositions as accessory figures groups of members of the Medici and Sassetti families with their followers and friends. We get the impression that their presence in these scenes is due to the elegant refine-



Fig. 152.—Ghirlandajo. Adoration of the Shepherds. *(Accademia.)* Florence.

ment of their garments and their courtly gestures rather than to their piety. The subject-matter is taken from the repertory created by Giotto for the Franciscan legend, but its content is overshadowed by the more decorative elements.

But the manner in which Ghirlandajo was able to transform one of the mystical compositions of the previous century into a picture of worldly life in his own time is to be seen in still more advantageous fashion in the main apse of the great church of S. Maria Novella at Florence. In this rectangular apse were preserved remains of Orcagna's pictures of the life of the Virgin, but they had become discolored and needed replacing. It is possible that Ghirlandajo may have respected the themes outlined by Orcagna, but the holy personages were set in richly decorated rooms with walnut wainscoting, inlaid work and handsome ceilings and he dressed them in embroidered garments of all the magnificence and good taste affected by the nobility of the time. The frescoes of S. Maria Novella were painted at the expense of a member of the wealthy Tornabuoni family, connections of the Medici. Consequently we find here the members of this family together with the artists and scholars whom they patron-



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 153. — Ghirlandajo. Adoration of the Magi. *(Foundling Hospital.)* FLORENCE.

ized. In the scene of the Visitation we recognize the wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni who was a member of the Albizzi family. In the Nativity of John the Baptist another lady of this family is advancing toward the centre of the picture with her suite of two ladies and a maid who bears a basket of flowers. This was evidently done deliberately. In the Nativity of Mary opposite, which occupies the best lighted spot in the apse, the youthful and elegant Luisa Tornabuoni also comes forward with her ladies-in-waiting as though she were the principal figure of the theme and the Nativity itself were merely a pretext for her presence on the scene. Never for a moment does she kneel or lose her aristocratic attitude (fig. 154). So we find women also taking part in the pomp and pageantry



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 154. — Ghirlandajo. Nativity of the Virgin. *(S. Maria Novella.)* FLORENCE.

of the period, and their prominent position in the two pictures just described may be due to a sentiment of gallantry. But in another fresco representing the appearance of the angel to Zacharias, the two principal figures, Zacharias and the angel, are almost lost in the background where they are set within a decorative niche of an architectural character. In the foreground are groups composed of the wealthy patrons of the chapel with their followers, among the latter, the painter himself. Here we find Marsilio Ficino, the first Hellenist of the period and the great friend of Cosimo de Medici. He is a white-haired man somewhat advanced in years and wears a cloak. With him is Poliziano, the illustrious teacher and poet, and according to Vasari the two others conversing with them are a Greek by the name of Demetrius and Cristoforo Landino.

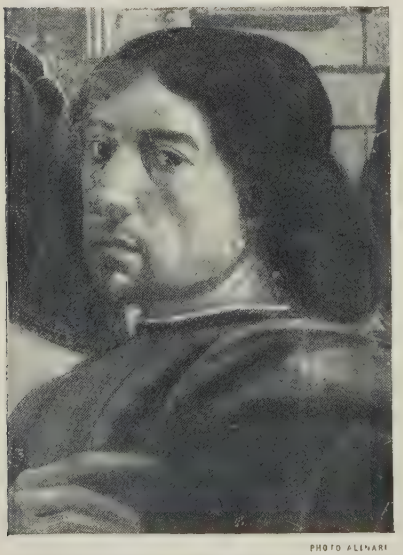


PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 155. — Ghirlandajo. Portrait of himself.

In his irreproachably simple style Ghirlandajo covered the walls of the chapels of Florence with these frescoes which are the more highly prized for the features he introduced which were not of a religious character. They reveal



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 156. — Botticelli. Mars and Venus. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

a revival of paganism both in the customs which they portray and the ideas which they represent. The Florentines employed Christian themes only as a pretext on which to base the composition. Artists devoted themselves to the new ideal with all the zeal of the neophite; indeed, in many respects they even exceeded the freedom of the classical period. Consequently we find at times a spiritual reaction; their ideal was beyond the scope of their art, and the result was sometimes a certain lack of balance.

It was natural, therefore, that the next great master of this generation, Sandro Botticelli, should be a restless spirit, filled with desires that it was impossible to satisfy; indeed, in this respect he seems very modern, for he was tormented by many a doubt in the pursuit of this two-fold ideal. This *child of the century* was not a painter of frescoes. He worked only for the wealthy and not for organizations of the people. The only time he painted a fresco was for the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. Here, with Ghirlandajo and Perugino, he decorated the lateral walls. When he returned to Florence, the Medici extended their patronage to him, and he devoted himself entirely to executing their commissions. The subjects of these paintings were sometimes of an intimate personal nature. We might mention the picture of Venus and the sleeping Mars now in the National Gallery at London. Here little satyrs play with the arms of the war-god. The subject was a classical one and has been discovered in a fresco at Pompeii within comparatively recent times, but Botticelli may have become familiar with it either through literary references or from some fresco or stucco representation of the same theme. Nevertheless, the figures of Mars and Venus are portraits. In Mars we see Giuliano de Medici, the son of Lorenzo who



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Fig. 157. — Botticelli. Portrait of himself.



Fig. 158. — Botticelli. Spring. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

was later assassinated by the partisans of the Pazzi family. The Venus with the undulating hair is a picture of Giuliano's mistress, Simonetta Vespucci. As the lady was married, the couple could only be represented under this mythological disguise (fig. 161).

On another occasion the Medici entrusted him with the decoration of a villa in Castello. Here the artist seems to have preferred painting on wood to fresco-painting. His Spring and Birth of Venus are compositions of different size, but they go well together on account of the style and the subjects portrayed. Both are now in the Uffizi Gallery. Botticelli's Spring is the presentation of a delightful grove of orange trees; the earth is strewn with flowers and the atmosphere is that of a clear spring day. Beneath the trees to the left is a strange group; Lorenzo de Medici, represented as Mercury, raises his arm to pick a fruit for the Three Graces, exquisite figures like those of the antique marble group. They stand with joined hands, and two of them are wounded by the arrows of Cupid who flies in the air above them. (Plate IX.) In the centre is Venus draped in a mantle, apparently another portrait of Simonetta Vespucci, while from the right Spring herself glides over the ground scattering flowers. Zephyrus, blowing as he flies, attempts to embrace the nude Flora in whose footsteps fresh shoots spring up. The Graces are beautiful, and Spring is marvelous, but the entire composition is somewhat lacking in coherence. The rather indefinite action is suited more to the mural decoration of a salon, and this is probably just what it was, the representation of some festival represented by the very personages whom the painter portrayed. The subject of the allegory was no doubt chosen by the learned and literary friends of Lorenzo de Medici and his children.



Botticelli. Spring. Detail of the Three Graces. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 159.—Botticelli. Birth of Venus. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

The picture of the Birth of Venus is a much simpler composition. The sea is represented by undulating lines which are the waves supporting the shell bearing the goddess. The latter is entirely nude; in one hand she gathers her long hair, while the other is pressed to her breast. At one side two Zephyrs fly close to one another breathing flower scented breezes upon the goddess as she approaches the shore. On the other side Spring comes from an orange-grove bringing her a mantle (fig. 159).

Here we have the Aphrodite Anadyomene of Apelles which was described by ancient writers, but Botticelli's composition is much more vigorous and complex. The Venus of Apelles has not yet risen completely from the sea; the waves still play about her knees, and the water drips from her hair. Botticelli's goddess, however, is about to step on shore from the shell which serves as her little boat. Apelles' Venus, so far as we can learn from the copies, was a youthful but robust figure; that of Botticelli, slightly inclined in an aristocratic posture, covers her breast with her hand for esthetic effect rather than in an affectation of modesty (fig. 159). The fixed gaze of this erotic Florentine lady comprises the entire ideal of the period. How different from the serene glance, so full of life, of the antique marbles which reproduce in plastic form the picture of Apelles. And yet the Fifteenth-century Florentines were striving to bring to life the art of classical antiquity. In still another painting Botticelli attempted an imaginary restoration of another of Apelles' pictures. This was the Calumny described in Greek by Lucian and whose description translated by Leone Battista Alberti formed the basis of Botticelli's picture. In order to give it the character of an antique, the artist chose for his background a classical portico with many panels and niches containing statues, but it is neither Greek nor Roman. This alone would be enough to reveal its hybrid character, but even



Fig. 160. — Botticelli. Fragment of Calumny. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

the figures are a Fifteenth-century Florentine conception. King Midas sits upon a throne between two women who whisper calumny into his ear (fig. 160), while in another part of the picture other women drag a victim by the hair. Remorse wrings its hands, and nude Virtue, abandoned, raises eyes to heaven trusting in time to triumph.

We can readily understand that these classical allegories must have been inspired by the literary friends of the artist. Botticelli himself was of a frank and open nature, readily stirred by the influence of his associates of a literary turn of mind and animated at times by ideals of the most contradictory character.

Another evidence of Botticelli's close connection with the Medici is seen in his picture of Minerva chastising a centaur, now in the Pitti Palace. The warlike goddess is clad in a floating tunic bordered by leaves and flowers, and her lance is the typical halberd of the century. The head is extremely Florentine; indeed, the figure is the usual type of delicate neurotic woman with large eyes and a lovely mouth (fig. 161). The goddess seizes by his hair the centaur who symbolizes rebellion. The ground is indicated only by light lines, while the background is treated in the most rudimentary fashion. It seems likely that this beautiful composition had no aim other than to commemorate the return of the Medici, representing them by the goddess of wisdom and order. The occasion was after the popular revolution of 1480 when the family was exiled for the first time, although for a short time only. The outbreak is no doubt symbolized by the centaur.

Nevertheless, about the end of the century the Florentines, and with them Botticelli, began to feel misgivings and fear that they had gone a little too far. Not only were there political revolts, directed principally against the Medici, but also outbursts of a religious character. The latter were a natural reaction against the pagan excesses of those who had become the prime movers of the Renaissance. The leader of these protests was that eloquent Dominican friar, Savonarola, who was the prior of the monastery of St. Mark's. This was, strangely enough, the very building which Cosimo de Medici had restored and Fra

Angelico had decorated. From this institution thundered forth condemnations of what had been the Florentine ideal for so many years, and the city divided into two factions. The partizans of Savonarola were the *Compagnacci*, and the *Arrabbiatti* were his enemies. He was finally excommunicated by the Pope and condemned by the Signoria, and on the 22nd of May, 1495, he died on the scaffold. His punishment, regarded by many as martyrdom, only increased the zeal of his followers who continued to profess the doctrine of the reformer after his death. It was natural that one so sensitive as Botticelli should have been moved by Savonarola's fervent oratory and even more by his tragic end. This painter of the mistresses of the Medici penitently resolved to portray no more profane themes and burned his studies of the nude. The pictures of his last period are also interesting, for they reveal the artist, agitated by the tempests which swept his soul, entering upon a new series of themes. In the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi Gallery we see the portrait of the painter himself in a group of *compagnacci*, as though he were making a profession of his faith (figs. 157 and 162).



Fig. 161. — Botticelli. Minerva chastising the centaur. *(Pitti Palace.)* FLORENCE.

From that time on, Botticelli's Venus became a Madonna, and his Cupid, the child Jesus, while his graces and fauns were transformed into choirs of angels. His art, nevertheless, always remained the same. Botticelli had already painted for the lordly and ostentatious Medici a number of religious pictures, among them Madonnas in circular borders like those of Filippo Lippi. The skill with which he filled the field with figures is typically Florentine. Nevertheless, in spite of her drapery, bowed head and humbly folded arms, his Virgin is still a Florentine maiden whose bearing reveals a grace and elegance which the painter, perhaps, desired to forget (figs. 163 and 164). The angels, too, remain the elegant youths with their languid gestures. Just as Botticelli was unable to portray the new-born Venus of Apelles' picture with the wholesome air of the ancient painter, so he was incapable of giving expression to the unmixed Christian sentiment of Giotto and Fra Angelico. For this reason Botticelli is, perhaps,



Fig. 162. — Botticelli. Adoration of the Magi. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

the most representative of all the Florentine painters of the quattrocento. We see in his temperament that contradiction of spirit which makes him seem so modern.

In the gestures of his figures, most of all, do they seem agitated by excessive emotion. In the picture of the Annunciation in the Uffizi Gallery the Virgin inclines her head before the angel with a nervous movement, while the latter is a youth with large wings who seems almost clad in plumage (fig. 165). In his two pictures of the Descent from the Cross the artist gives the scene a certain dramatic aspect. It is as though in his new-found mystical character, he were attempting one of the representations of the Medici in Castello with the fair Simonetta converted into a Magdalene (fig. 166). Nevertheless, we cannot doubt the sincerity of his conversion; we see in it another proof of that esthetic romanticism which made him the most interesting painter of his period and has given him a popularity which has endured down to our own time.

About the end of the Fifteenth Century we begin to find painters from elsewhere taking a part in the art of the period which continues, however, to be largely Florentine. These in turn extended the field of this school of painting to Rome and the Adriatic provinces. We can readily understand that after a spirit like that of Botticelli it was difficult to follow that line. The artists who came from elsewhere could not but rejuvenate Florentine life with new ideals. From



Fig. 163. — Botticelli. Madonna and Angels. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

Fig. 164. — Botticelli. Madonna of the Magnificat. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

Umbria near by, the province which had already produced Gentile da Fabriano, was to come the most talented decorative artist of the last years of the Fifteenth Century. This was Piero de' Franceschi who was born in San Sepolcro not far from Perugia. His most important work, however, is at Arezzo in Tuscany where he decorated the entire apse of a church with scenes from the story of the Holy Cross. The effect is one never to be forgotten. The visitor, impatient with the appearance of the little city, has only to enter the deserted church of S. Francesco. He will pass by the ruined frescoes of Spinello Aretino, a pupil of Giotto, to pause in wonder and admiration in the rectangular apse behind the high altar. The choir is filled with light and color from the frescoes of Piero de' Franceschi; the walls are simply luminous, for this artist was the great painter of light effects. His great preoccupation was to illuminate his scenes with that pellucid sunlight which we find only under an Italian sky. One of the frescoes represents the dream of Constantine the night before the battle with Maxentius. The Emperor sleeps in a partly opened tent, but a mysterious light within indicates to the



Fig. 165. — Botticelli. The Annunciation. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 166. — Descent from the Cross. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*

beholder that a supernatural occurrence is taking place and that the great man is not sleeping peacefully; indeed, he is having a most important dream. In the battle scene we have a transparent blue atmospheric effect; the great emblazoned standards borne by the captains stand out in strong relief above the dark tones of the horses. Another scene opposite this one represents the discovery of the True Cross by St. Helena. Here we begin to find the feminine type which will always remain the same in the frescoes of this painter. It is no longer Botticelli's thin Florentine patrician lady but a tall woman with straight nose, robust neck and broad forehead, her hair carefully drawn back. Piero de' Franceschi, when he was not painting portraits, always availed himself of this type which is sufficiently impersonal not to weary the beholder (fig. 167).

Only in his portraits does Piero abandon his favorite type and represent the feelings of the sitter, as in the graceful and tender girl in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan (fig. 168). If it were possible, we might say that in his portraits the style of the master becomes even more luminous. Certainly he took especial pleasure in setting his figures in the open air, behind them a low horizon which makes the head stand out against the blue sky. Sometimes we find a distant landscape in the background. Here the clear air reveals the smallest details as in the portrait of the Duke of Urbino and his wife, now in the National Gallery at London. At other times the background is a uniform one of blue light.

One of the pupils of Piero de' Franceschi was Melozzo, who was born at Forli near Ancona. He worked principally at Rome; at least some of his best pictures were here, although not a few of them have dissappeared. Pope



Fig. 167.—Piero de' Franceschi. Nativity. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

Sixtus IV summoned him there to decorate the Vatican Library, but of the series of frescoes which once ornamented these three halls only an interesting panel remains. This is a picture of the Pope together with his household. He is appointing to the post of librarian Platina, whose Lives of the Popes is still a testimony to his erudition. The fresco has been taken out and removed to the Vatican Picture Gallery, where it occupies a place of honor. The portraits are admirable and the color of the composition, soft and natural (fig. 169). We should recognize Melozzo as a pupil of Piero de' Franceschi by the background alone; through the windows of a gallery the light enters in a marvelous manner. Melozzo also painted the apse of the church of the SS. Apostoli. Here was an Ascension with angels which long passed as one of his finest works. When the



Fig. 168. — Piero de' Franceschi. Portrait. *(Museo Poldi-Pezzoli.)* MILAN.

frescoes were taken out, their fragments were removed to the sacristy of S. Peter of the Vatican and again later to the stairway of the Palace of the Quirinal. Mutilated as they are, they are still among the precious works of art preserved at Rome. The angels are of the androgynous type; they are robust figures, but there is a feminine touch in the arrangement of their hair and in the refinement of their movements. In solemn delectation, each plays a musical instrument, the violin, the lute or the timbrel. In his own province of Ancona he decorated the cupola of the church of Loreto, the only one of his works which has remained intact. Moving to Urbino, he also painted a number of pictures for Duke Frederick II representing the liberal arts. Two of these, Dialectics and Astronomy, are now in the National Gallery at London, and two others, in the Museum of Berlin. The rest have disappeared.

Even in a work of this general character, it seems a pity to be obliged to mention so briefly such beautiful paintings as the Venus of Botticelli, the portraits of Piero de' Franceschi and Melozzo's angels, but it is possible in this rapid inventory to interpose only an occasional reproduction and note the consoling fact that the picture still exists.

One would like to dwell longer on each of these artists and their work, but it is impossible to do more than complete this brief survey of the Florentine painters of the quattrocento with a reference to two more artists, Pietro Vanucci, better known as Perugino, and Pinturicchio, who were the true masters of the transition period. Pietro Vanucci was born of a humble family in Città della Pieve in 1446. According to Vasari, his early poverty awakened in him a love for both money and hard work. The biographer does not give us a very sympathetic account, possibly because he dared to criticize Michelangelo, who was idolized by the writer. In any case there is no doubt that Perugino achieved a celebrity which he well deserved both for his style and unusual delicacy of execution. His father apprenticed him to a painter in Perugia, but he soon

moved to Florence, "where, more than any other place, men came to perfect themselves in the three arts, particularly that of painting." For this reason Perugino is considered the last master of the Florentine school. Vasari also tells us that he enjoyed the advantage of Verrocchio's discipline, and he did not lack the very necessary privilege of analyzing Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel which had by now become the academy of the young Florentines of the period. He made the usual journey to Rome where, like Botticelli and Ghirlandajo, he decorated the lateral walls of the Sistine Chapel and painted other subjects of a religious nature at the further end, on the surface later occupied by Michelangelo's Last Judgment. Of Perugino's paintings in the Sistine Chapel only the scene of Christ giving the keys to St. Peter has been preserved. It is a handsome composition and one of his best works (fig. 172). In the background is an octagonal structure similar to that in Raphael's Betrothal of the Virgin and on either side is an arch of triumph, evidently copied from Constantine's arch. Numerous small figures walk and run about in the background, a skilful expedient to give the impression of distance. In the foreground all the personages of the picture are almost in the same plane; here are the companions of the Saviour and St. Peter, among whom Vasari recognized several portraits of contemporaries.



Fig. 169. — Melozzo da Forli. Sixtus IV and Cardinal Riario. *(Vatican.)*



Fig. 170. — Melozzo da Forli. The Duke of Urbino. Miniature. *(Vatican.)*

When he had become sure of his technique and his feeling for color, he began to paint religious pictures, gentle Madonnas with inclined heads and surrounded by angels and saints. They are all of a charming but melancholy type. Religious communities vied with one another in their desire to possess his paintings, and the art-dealers did a considerable business in them even during the life of the artist. The natural result was that he often copied the same types. "Pietro had done so much work," remarks his biographer, "and always had so many commissions that he often painted the same subjects." In other words, he had acquired such a mannerism that his figures all came to resemble one another (figs. 173 and 174). Vasari, who is implacable toward poor Perugino, does not fail to make a point of his lack of piety which, in the case of a painter of religious pictures, is to accuse him of affectation. "Pietro never had



Fig. 171.—Melozzo da Forli. Angel musician. *(Sacristy of St. Peter.) Vatican.*

much religion," he writes, "and he could not be made to believe in the immortality of the soul. He had a number of houses built in Florence and Perugia and married a beautiful young girl whom he sometimes dressed and adorned with his own hand." The portrait we have of him, we might add, does somewhat suggest the materialist and the vulgar sensualist (fig. 175). Nor is it the elegant materialism of Rembrandt, elsewhere so spiritual, who even compels our esteem when he paints himself with the fair Jewess in his arms and drinking a cup of wine. Perugino does not seem to have been a person of this sort, but rather a man of the people of somewhat vulgar tastes. He painted admirably his figures of languid saints; their garments are done in soft colors, and in the background we begin to see the smiling landscape of Umbria, its tall poplars with their shining leaves, streams winding through the green meadows and the Apennines on the horizon. Perugino achieves his best effects when he portrays his native country. The Umbrian countryside in late afternoon has the soft velvet color we see in his works; copses of trees wave against a transparent sky; the peasants, too, move with that silent composure which we see only in the personages painted by this artist.

Besides his altar-pieces and paintings on wood, Perugino also executed a series of frescoes. The best known are those of the old chamber of commerce at Perugia, where in his second manner he painted the great men of ancient times. Socrates, Fabius Maximus and Trajan are all there, dressed in the costumes of the painter's own time, and opposite them are saints, prophets and prophetesses executed in the same style (figs. 173 and 174).

But even were his art more insignificant than Vasari's malicious praise would lead us to suppose, Perugino would be famous for his pupils. First of these, of course, was Raphael, then comes Pinturicchio, who was an admirable painter, for all that he lacked the genius of the former. In his earlier work Pinturicchio imitated the style of his master to an astonishing degree, but he was soon to embark upon new and charming undertakings with great success. He chose subjects of a worldly character, even pagan at times. That strange



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Fig. 172.—Perugino. Christ giving the keys to St. Peter. *(Sistine Chapel.) Vatican.*

note of affectation, which rather wearies us in Perugino's work, disappears, and he retains only the freshness of color, light and delicacy of drawing which he learned from the master. Pinturicchio's most characteristic work is his picture of Apollo and Marsyas, now in the Louvre. It was at first ascribed to Raphael. His Apollo is a handsome Greek youth with floating hair who leans upon a staff. The satyr appears in the guise of a Tuscan peasant. His head is shaved and he does not have the goat's ears nor any other indication of the sort except his brutishness. (Plate X.) But in the characteristic Umbrian landscape in the background we see trees, like those of Perugino, spreading their delicate branches. The atmospheric effect is heightened by the birds which fly through the transparent air. Pinturicchio's drawing is even superior to that of his master. His best known works are the series of frescoes in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican and in the library of the cathedral of Siena.

He was called to Rome to paint some frescoes in the church of Ara Coeli representing the life of St. Bernard, and these are still preserved. This work met with much favor, and Pope Innocent VIII entrusted him with some of the decorations of the Vatican which have since disappeared.

The next Pope, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia of Valencia, who took the name of Alexander VI, wished Pinturicchio to decorate the walls of his personal apartments which are still known as the Borgia Apartments. Here we find six rooms in a row. The first is a large antechamber called the Room of the Popes containing little from the hand of Pinturicchio. Three rectangular halls follow which were decorated by him. The last, a tower constructed by Alexander VI, was the dormitory and private chapel of this Pope. The three



Figs. 173 and 174. — Perugino. St. Michael and the Virgin. *(Collegio del Cambio.)* PERUGIA.

halls mentioned are covered by groined vaults and enriched with polychrome stucco reliefs of allegories and figures of the prophets. The walls are covered with beautiful frescoes; over one of the doors is one that seems to be Christ rising from the tomb, while Pope Alexander kneels in adoration. The rotund, sensual and malicious figure of the pontiff is a marvelous portrait, but those of the sleeping soldiers are even more admirable types. They are elegant halberdiers lying in artistic postures. Over another door on the opposite wall is a Virgin and Child which Vasari tells us is a portrait of Giulia Farnese, the last love of the old Valencian. In the next hall are a number of lives of the saints; especially noteworthy is the scene of St. Catharine disputing before the Emperor and his court. The saint is portrayed with the features of Lucrezia Borgia; among the followers of this family here depicted we see the Turkish Prince Djem, who was at Rome as a hostage to guarantee the alliance of the Pope and the Ottoman conqueror.



Fig. 175. — Perugino. Portrait of himself.

In the fourth apartment are allegories of the Seven Liberal Arts and in the tower, a number of mythological and astronomical figures. The most noteworthy feature of these decorations is the profu-



Pinturicchio. Apollo and Marsyas. *(Louvre.)*

sion of colors, gold and ultramarine, brilliant reds which contrast admirably as in the ancient classical decorations. Although we do not find the range of the old Pompeian tones, the colors are most vivid. The painter has followed the same system as in ancient times of subdividing the field into small spaces in order to avoid a lack of harmony through too great masses of color. The soft gold reconciles the various parts of the composition; the bright colors of the garments, armour, and even of the landscape are softened by the gold lines.

Pinturicchio also painted frescoes in S. Maria del Popolo and in the apartments which Alexander VI constructed on the platform of the Castello S. Angelo. Here he portrayed important scenes connected with the Borgia pontificate, but they have dissappeared and we know them only through contemporary accounts. Pinturicchio's intimacy with the Borgia family is also perpetuated in a Madonna in the Museum of Valencia. At the feet of the Virgin kneels Cardinal Alfonso de Borgia, the nephew of the Pope (fig. 176).



Fig. 176.—Pinturicchio. Virgin and Alfonso de Borgia. *(Museum of Valencia.)*

Some of the Fifteenth-century painters were also famous miniaturists and illuminators of books. Botticelli had begun the illumination of a manuscript of Dante, an author of whom he was very fond. The nobility and wealthy men of the period preceding the invention of printing were the last patrons of this art. Besides such bibliophile popes as Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, the Duke of Urbino (fig. 170), Frederick II, Matthias I of Hungary and Alfonso V of Aragon were famous book-collectors. Most of the books of the monarch last named are now in the Library of Valencia. The books of the Duke of Urbino became the property of the Vatican as did some of those of Matthias Corvinus; the remainder of the latter's collection has recently been acquired by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan in America.

Summary.—At the beginning of the Fifteenth Century a Florentine painter by the name of Masaccio, anticipating the course of art by almost a century, freed himself from the tradition of Giotto's school and made a serious attempt to paint landscapes with natural light effects. Masaccio died young, but his frescoes in S. Maria del Carmine at Florence were studied by all the Fifteenth-century Florentine painters and even down to the time of Raphael and Michelangelo, his real successors. All during this century the artists of Florence attempted to follow the somewhat contradictory ideal fixed by Masaccio, which was pure classicism. They loved delicate and subtle forms, but at times they went so far as to fall into a romanticism which amounted to a love for beauty of a refined and neurotic type. We might mention briefly the Dominican monk, Fra Angelico, who painted celestial visions in transparent colors. His pupil, Benozzo Gozzoli, who lacked

the religious nature of his master, painted large compositions filled with figures at Pisa, San Gimigniano and at Florence in the chapel of the Medici. Gentile da Fabriano, a native of Umbria, worked in Florence and spread the art of the Florentine quattrocento to the North of Italy and contributed to the formation of another great painter, Pisanello of Verona.

About the middle of the Fifteenth Century we find in Florence a liberal tendency which manifested itself in a desire for novelty both along artistic and literary lines. The two masters most representative of this current of ideas were Ghirlandajo and Botticelli. Ghirlandajo introduced into his religious compositions in the church of the S. Trinità and that of S. Maria Novella groups composed of the patrons who had ordered the pictures. Such figures, consisting of the Medici, the Sassetti and the Tornabuoni, often occupied the principal place in the composition. Botticelli was a painter of allegories. An extremely sensitive person, he first pursued a pagan ideal, but was later converted to mysticism by the preaching of Savonarola.

At the same time Piero de' Franceschi and Melozzo da Forlì were going on with the study of light and color begun by Masaccio and Domenico Veneziano. By the end of the Fifteenth Century, the work of Perugino and Pinturicchio shows the effect of the efforts made by the various artists who preceded them and prepared the way for the coming of Raphael.

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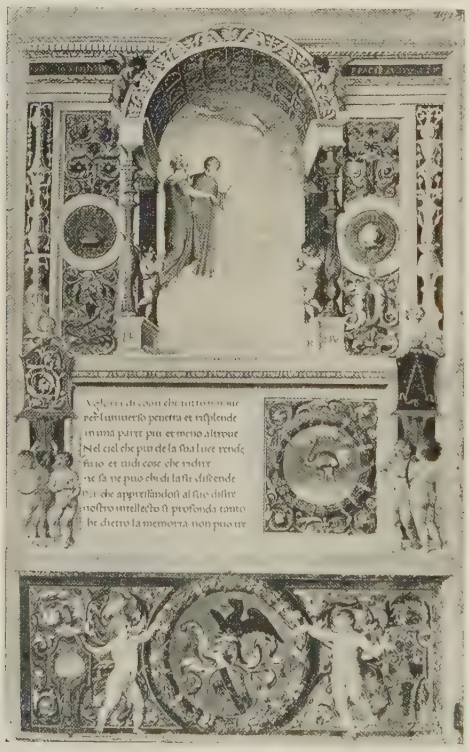


Fig. 177. — Dante of the Duke of Urbino. *Vatican.*



Fig. 178. — Dome of St. Peter's as seen from the Piazza.

CHAPTER VII

ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — BRAMANTE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ST. PETER'S AT ROME. — MICHELANGELO AS AN ARCHITECT. ROMAN ARCHITECTURE AND ITS SPREAD IN NORTHERN ITALY. SANSOVINO AND PALLADIO.

In our study of the Italian Renaissance during the Fifteenth Century, although it was largely a Florentine movement, we have frequently encountered the name of Rome. This city seems to have cast a spell over the minds of the artists of Florence. Masaccio, Brunelleschi and Donatello had all journeyed to Rome to view its wonders; they had curiously visited its ruined remains, much more abundant than in our own time, and had gazed in amazement upon the vaults and marble decorations of the ancient monuments. By the second half of the Fifteenth Century, now that the Popes were again established in Rome, we begin to note a rapid change in conditions there. Florentine artists still came, but no longer merely as students and travellers; they were summoned by the Popes to take a part in the beautifying of the old capital. The architectural initiative of the first pontiffs who returned to Rome was directed largely toward the buildings of the Vatican group. The Lateran Palace had formerly been the papal residence prior to the removal to Avignon, but it now remained deserted in a distant and abandoned part of the city. The Vatican, on the other hand, was close to Trastevere which had always been a populous quarter. So the court was installed in the palace across the Tiber, and it was here that we find the ex-

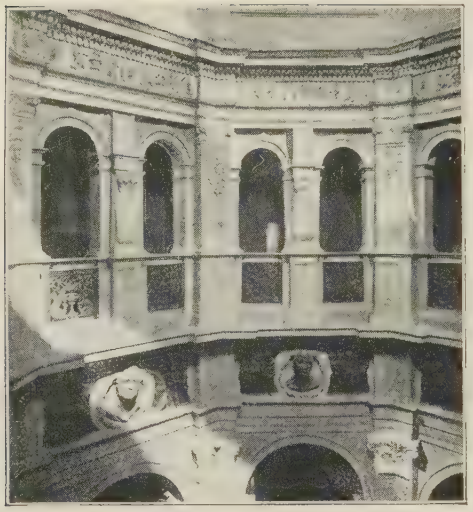


Fig. 179. — Bramante. Interior of the church of S. Satiro. MILAN.

tensive restorations and additions undertaken by Nicholas V, Pius II and the two Borgias.

After the death of Alexander VI, the famous Borgia Pope, we find Giuliano della Rovere elected to the pontificate in 1503, the very beginning of the Sixteenth Century. He took the name of Julius II, and his reign of ten years was sufficient for a man of his ambitious character to undertake projects of far reaching importance. His successor, Leo X, was the son of Lorenzo de Medici. The latter had been cardinal for fourteen years and was, both by birth and education, a man of the most refined tastes. In the history of art, Julius II and Leo X mark the removal of the spirit of the Renaissance from Florence to Rome. Their names are connected with those of Raphael, Michelangelo, Bramante and many others who had come to Rome to work there. Both these Popes were of distinguished families and had at their disposal the unlimited resources of the Roman curia. These consisted not only of the tithes but also of the proceeds of the sales of privileges and dignities, a source of income which Charles V pointed out to his son Philip II as being of a most desirable character. Finances offered few difficulties to the Popes of the Renaissance; for the first time since the days of the great Oriental potentates do we find a power which was not obliged to count the cost of its building program. The cities and corporations which erected the mediaeval cathedrals were often obliged to suspend work for lack of funds, and some of them are still uncompleted. Not so with the Popes. The magnificent new church of St. Peter's took many years to build, it is true, but money was never lacking to go on with this ambitious project. The great men who succeeded one another in the direction of the work were never embarrassed by financial difficulties. Each Pope wished to perpetuate his name by adding some new embellishment to the great temple erected over the tomb of the humble Galilean fisherman.

The reader will recall that a basilica consisting of a nave and four aisles was constructed on the Vatican hill in Constantine's time. Pope Nicholas V, the humanist, was the first to wish to tear it down and replace it by a modern structure. We have already seen how he brought to Rome his friend Leone Battista Alberti who laid out the foundations of the new apse. None of his successors, however, took much interest in the project. In Pinturicchio's frescoes in the Library at Siena, painted during the last years of the Fifteenth Century, we see a representation of Constantine's basilica with the mosaics of the apse still intact. Julius II was a man of great ideas and one who possessed the ini-

tiative to carry them out. He felt strongly that this Roman church over the sepulchre of the Prince of the Apostles should be something more than a venerable old basilica filled with relics. He had a vision of a colossal temple, unsurpassed in the world for its size and wealth and the visible sign of the Catholic Church triumphant. In 1505, two years after his election to the pontificate, Julius II convoked a sort of private competition to find a suitable plan for a new church of St. Peter. Vasari tells us that everyone was much surprised to see preference given to the ideas of an architect from Milan. This was Bramante, who had come to Rome only a few years before and was not a member of the group of Florentine artists whose patron Julius II had been, while he was yet a cardinal. Bramante's ideas, modified in some details, continued to inspire those who succeeded him in the direction of the work. For his own part, he no longer thought of anything but the great new church, and the Popes kept an apartment at his disposal close to the Belvedere in the Vatican where he resided until his death.

Bramante was born in Monti Asdrualdo near Urbino. Here, in the school of Laurana, the architect of the charming ducal palace, he learned a certain elegance and grace of design which was never to leave him, even in the planning of such a gigantic structure as that of St. Peter's. From Urbino he went to Milan, where the church of S. Satiro (fig. 179) still bears witness to his stay in that city. In Lombardy he acquired the energy and audacity needed to plan such an ambitious project as the great temple at Rome.

Serlio tells us that he began his career as a painter, but it was only when he came to Rome, at the age of sixty years, that his style may be



Fig. 180. – Tempietto by Bramante. *(S. Pietro in Montorio.)* Rome.

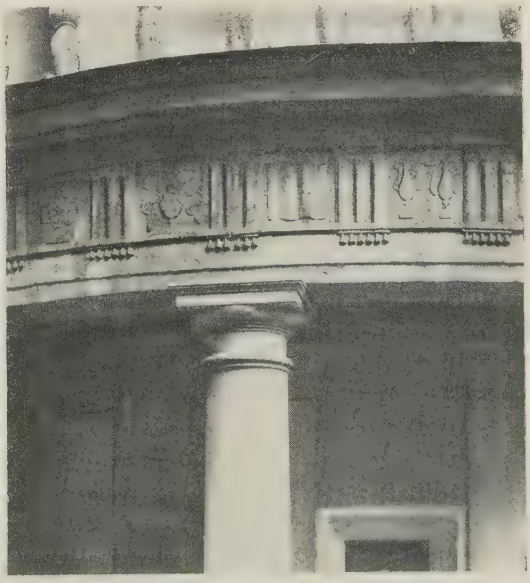


Fig. 181. — Tempietto by Bramante. Detail. *(S. Pietro in Montorio.)* Rome.

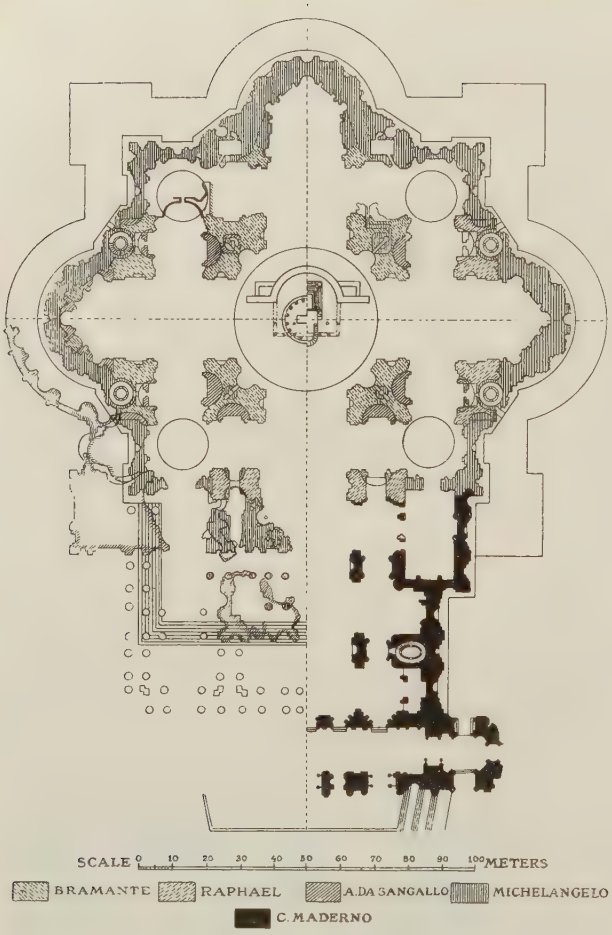


Fig. 182. — Plan of St. Peter's showing its various modifications as building progressed.

said to have been completely formed. The ruins of the old city inspired him as though he were a youth of twenty and awakened in him an ardent desire to imitate the ancient architecture, not only in its details and ornamentation as the decorators of the Fifteenth Century had done, but also in its general structural procedure. There still remain in Rome two of his buildings constructed prior to his project for the new church of St. Peter. One is a cloister of the church of S. Maria della Pace, merely a superimposition of galleries without any ornamentation. The lower part consists of plain round arches, and the upper portion, of small Ionic columns and pilasters which are equally plain. There is not the profusion of garlands, palmettes and medallions, often so complicated, with which the quattrocentist architects attempted to clothe their buildings. Bramante's second work at Rome was his famous *Tempietto* of S. Pietro in Montorio which marks the point of departure of the genuine Roman Renaissance style. It is a small circular structure surrounded by a portico of Doric columns. Above the latter rises the central portion, its windows forming a second story, and the building is surmounted by a hemispherical dome (fig. 180). Here, as in the cloister of S. Maria della Pace, the most interesting thing is the general arrangement of the plan and the classical construction in imitation of the circular Roman temples. We see that the architect had studied the temple of Vesta and that of the Sibyl at Tivoli after he had come from Milan to Rome.

The decoration, which in the cloister of S. Maria della Pace was lacking, is



Fig. 183.—Dome of St. Peter's. Rome.

also insignificant in S. Pietro in Montorio. There are only the reliefs in the metopes of the lower portico representing various ritual articles, just as we find pagan objects of the same sort in the Roman friezes (figs. 181).

These two rather unimportant structures plainly indicate the trend of Bramante's work and ideas after he came to Rome. He was interested in architecture rather than decoration, and classical architecture at that. In the study of



Fig. 184. — The Tiber with the dome of St. Peter's in the distance.

his famous plan for the new church of St. Peter's, we must reconstruct it in our minds, turning away from what was added by the architects who succeeded him and adding the parts which they either dispensed with or modified. Fortunately there are still among the papers collected by the Medici in Florence a large number of drawings and studies from which we may obtain an excellent idea of Bramante's project while it was still in process of formation. There is also a large parchment plan of one half of the building containing all the details of the proposed composition. In the faded lines we may still trace this masterly design. It is a rectangular structure with a central dome; with the mind's eye one can see the great temple with its open porticos on all four façades and the five domes, the largest in the centre surmounting the church.

Bramante's plan with its five domes reminds us of the Byzantine type of church. We recall the descriptions of the church of the Apostles at Constantinople and of St. Mark's at Venice. It seems strange to find a central cupola with a rectangular plan like that of S. Sophia at Constantinople. Here, after ten centuries, we see again the same problem of constructing a church which is to be the greatest in Christendom, and here, too, the architects adopted the scheme of a dome as the predominating feature. We have already seen how Brunelleschi's dome at Florence rises above a church consisting of a nave and two aisles, offering a somewhat mediaeval solution of the problem involved. And now Bramante again attacks the problem of a dome which, with its thrust in every direction, would seem to require a square or circular plan in order that it might be supported on every side. Bramante's Byzantine solution does not seem so strange when we recall that he had come from Milan, where he must have been familiar with the semi-Byzantine churches of Lombardy. We know that he greatly admired the ancient church of S. Lorenzo; the same may have been the case with the churches of Ravenna. Rome offered a magnificent opportunity for his genius to unfold. His idea, he is supposed to have said, was to set a hemispherical dome like that of the Pantheon over two great barrel-vaulted naves like those of the basilica of Constantine in the Roman Forum. The latter, forming a Greek cross, were to terminate in four apses, and the four

façades were to consist of porticos. In the four spaces lying between the arms of the cross he planned to put four halls for sacristies and surmount each with a lesser dome. Then to relieve the enormous masses of pillars and walls, Bramante proposed to make use of the magnificent niches so common in Roman architecture.

Although the project was never carried out in this fashion, the architects of the period made use of Bramante's idea, and we see it realized on a smaller scale in some of the country churches which give us some conception of what St. Peter's would have been if the original plan had been employed. In the church of S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi (fig. 185) and that of San Biagio at Montepulciano we see a dome set over the four arms of a Greek cross. The latter structure was the work of Antonio da Sangallo of Florence, but both of them show plainly that Bramante's ideas were accepted with little reservation.



Fig. 185. — Church of S. Maria della Consolazione. Todi.



PHOTOS ALINARI

Fig. 186. — Dome of the church of Loretto.

The church of S. Maria in Carignano at Genoa is also of the same type, which is hardly surprising for the Pope himself was a Genoese, so we might expect to find a reflection of Bramante's ideas in that city. Julius II had a medal struck on one face of which we find his portrait, and on the other, a view of the church represented as completed with the inscription: *Templi Petri instauratio.* On the 18th of April, 1506, the Pope descended into the great excavation made for the foundations of the apse of the new church and laid the first stone which bore an inscription of commemoration. After he had proclaimed the indulgences conceded to those who should aid in the work, he returned in solemn procession to the Vatican.

The work was begun from the



Fig. 187. — Dome of S. Maria di Loretto. *(Trajan's Forum.)* Rome.

rear on the apse and the piers for the dome. Julius II had Bramante tear down as much as was necessary of the old basilica. He only forbade him to touch the central portion containing the Confessio, a sort of well, which had never been violated and in which the body of the Apostle was supposed to lie buriel. For a long time services were carried on in what remained of the old church; later a provisional chapel was erected over the tomb which was used until the new building was completed. A small portion of what was considered worth preserving was stored in disorder in the space between the pavement of the ancient basilica and the floor of the present church which is much higher. Here are fragments of the sculptures from the tombs of the Popes, a number of altars and the tomb of Otto II which had been in the court in front of the façade. But the ancient mosaics, Giotto's frescoes and many beautiful works of the early Renaissance were ruthlessly destroyed. The people of Rome, men of culture and even some of the cardinals resented this vandalism, but the excuse was made that the old building was threatening to fall to ruin. Even so, many protests were made to the Pope, and Bramante particularly was criticized bitterly as one who in pursuit of his architectural fancies was filled with a rage for destruction. One writer of the period tells us that "he would have destroyed Rome and the whole universe if he could." The acute and malicious populace said satirically that Bramante would never get into heaven; St. Peter would never let him in after he had destroyed his ancient basilica.

After Bramante's death, the direction of the work on the new church was entrusted to Raphael, as it was thought that he would be the one to carry out the original plan most faithfully. The latter, like Bramante, came from Urbino, and Vasari tells us that his career in the papal court had begun by his being a protegé of Bramante. But Raphael was



Fig. 188. — Dome of S. Carlo. Rome.

not the man for such a colossal architectural undertaking as that planned by Bramante, and although he was aided by Antonio da Sangallo who was a great engineer and architect, the work progressed little. After the death of these two men no one seemed capable of completing the structure except the old Michelangelo who had outlived all his contemporaries, but whose reputation never ceased to grow. "After Antonio da Sangallo died in 1546," writes Vasari, "and as there was no one to direct the work on St. Peter's, there were a number of different opinions, but his Holiness, inspired by God, resolved to entrust the task to Michelangelo. The latter refused, excusing himself saying that architecture was not his calling. Admitting no refusal, the Pope commanded him to accept, so he was obliged to take part in the enterprise very much against his will." Michelangelo suppressed many of the details of Sangallo's plan; there were to be towers and more towers, spires and small columns on the exterior, all of which would have robbed the church of its classical simplicity. Moreover, as these features would have been most expensive, Michelangelo's course did not please the financial administrators of the project but excited the animosity of those who found the work profitable and who had already prolonged it for some fifty years. To allay all suspicion, Michelangelo insisted that in the *motu*



Fig. 189. — Vignola. The Gesù, or Church of Jesus. Rome.



PHOTO MOSCIONI

Fig. 190. — Interior of the Gesù. Rome.

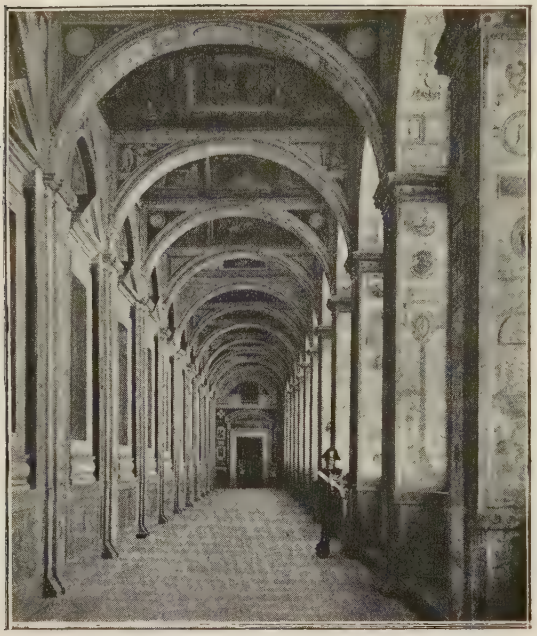


PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 191. — Bramante and Raphael. Logge, or galleries, enclosing the Cortile di San Damaso. *Vatican.*

proprio he should be appointed director of the work with entire authority to build or tear down. He also had it expressly set down in the document that he served the Church without any compensation and for the love of God only. Pope Julius, who saw that the great sculptor was the genius needed to complete the church, never failed to support Michelangelo against the intrigues of his enemies. "Your duty," Michelangelo told the administrators in 1551, "is to see that the donations come in and that they are not stolen by thieves. The plan and drawings of the church shall be my affair." "Then turning to the Pope, he said: 'Holy Father, if the labours I endure do not benefit my soul, I am losing my time vainly for this work'; to which the Pope, who loved him, replied, laying his hands on the shoulders of the master: 'You will be a gainer both for your soul and in the body; do not doubt it.' "

Michelangelo's part in the project, therefore, consisted principally in simplifying the plan laid out by Bramante. He cut out the accessory features which weakened the structure, such as porticos and openings which lessened the strength of the walls. On the other hand he raised the dome to a height never dreamed of by Bramante. This appears to have been a repetition of the Roman dome of the Pantheon, magnificent from within but hidden from the exterior. Michelangelo, however, substituted for it a dome like that of S. Maria del Fiore, so what he took away from its length and breadth he added in height. Indeed, the most prominent exterior feature of St. Peter's is the dome with its colossal height of 404 feet which dominates the entire structure (fig. 183).

Upon the four great piers planned by Bramante Michelangelo set a cylindrical drum. The circumference was pierced by windows flanked by columns in pairs which projected like buttresses, and above them ran a simple frieze of garlands which could be seen from a distance. There was a raised double vault like the dome at Florence (fig. 74). Michelangelo died when the work had progressed to the springers of the vault, but he left a model which is still preserved. His successor was his favorite pupil, Giacomo della Porta, who did not confine himself to the problems presented by the colossal dome but also made graceful alterations in the lantern surmounting it. He made it more rich and

complicated; indeed, it is almost baroque. This airy structure has a more modern appearance; above the curved grey surface of the lead-roofed dome, it gives a finishing touch to the beauty of the magnificent building. It can be seen from the entire Campagna, rising above the plain, and is the most conspicuous feature of the distant city. As the city itself lies to one side of the hill of the Vatican, the sun always sets behind the great dome outlining its silhouette against the western sky (fig. 184).



Fig. 192. — Bramante. Monumental niche facing the Garden of La Pigna. *Vatican.*

The structure seems to have a character of its own, similar to that of the dome at Florence, and yet very different from it, as it is from every imitation that has been made of it.

The effect of the dome of St. Peter's upon later architects was such that from the middle of the Sixteenth Century on, no church, great or small, was thought complete without a similar feature. Indeed, we could find no better evidence of the admiration with which St. Peter's has always been regarded. This was not only the case in Italy, but in every part of Europe where the Renaissance penetrated. It is true of the country church of brick covered with stucco and of such great monuments as the Escorial and the church des Invalides at Paris. Always do we find the same architectural theme, a cruciform church with a dome set on a cylindrical drum above the crossing.

The attempts to improve the details of St. Peter's dome in later imitations are also proof of the correctness of Michelangelo's solution; it has been almost impossible to better it. In Italy especially the Sixteenth-century architects attempted a number of curious variations. Take, for example, the church of S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi, which dates from the beginning of the century at a time when the people of Rome became acquainted with Bramante's plan for St. Peter's. Here we find a more modest dome, the drum of which has windows alternating with niches producing an effect of severity (fig. 185).

Some distance from Rome, but still in the dominion of the Popes, is the singular sanctuary at Loretto erected to contain the relic of the house of the Virgin at Nazareth which was carried by angels to Italy. The dome of this church seems to be the work of Sangallo and is a return to the type of Brunelleschi's dome at Florence (fig. 186).

In Rome, the city of domes, we see hundreds of imitations of St. Peter's, but none of them has so elegant a curve. One of the more modest ones is the



Fig. 193.—The Farnese Palace. Rome.

national church of the Florentines on the Via Giulia. It is the work of Giacomo della Porta, who was the pupil and successor of Michelangelo. The lantern and the decorations of the drum show the triumph of the baroque style, but the zone of large windows flanked by columns and surmounted by an entablature produces a very beautiful effect. By the end of the Sixteenth Century these lanterns had become more and more complicated, as though the dome were intended only to support the superstructure. The cylindrical dome, too, took on a decoration in the baroque style (figs. 187 and 188).

Besides the dome, we may say that with the exception of the façade the entire exterior of St. Peter's is the work of Michelangelo. As planned by Bramante it would have been very different with numerous porticos and open galleries. It is in the apse of St. Peter's that we see the style peculiar to Michelangelo and so distinct from that of the other architects of his time. The high curved walls of the apses are surmounted by a simple horizontal attic which was originally intended to extend all the way around the church. It appears to be supported by great Corinthian pilasters rising the entire height of the wall. In the spaces between them are windows and balconies; they are rather plain, but of such magnificent proportions that they give back to the building the religious character which the classical forms tend to take away. Michelangelo's work on St. Peter's is little known; it is apt to remain unnoticed, overshadowed by the baroque effect of the piazza and the façade which were executed much later. But when we walk around the structure, if the mind is not already wearied by the great mass of the church, and look up at this high cornice, we find the religious effect produced by the churches of the Middle Ages. The lofty spirit of Michelangelo again succeeded in producing an effect of mysticism in the magnificent building planned by the new pagan Rome of the Renaissance. (Plate XI.)

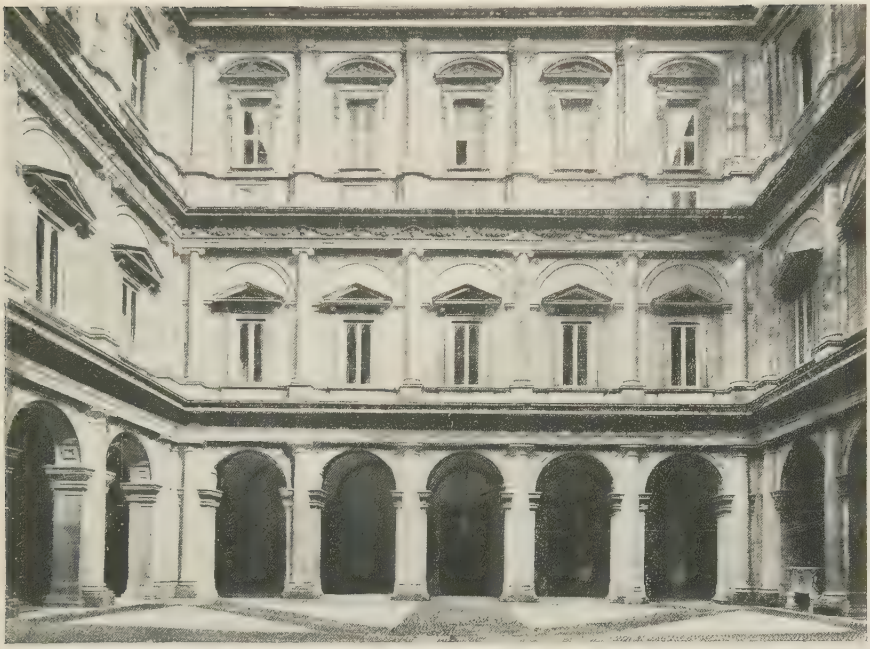


Fig. 194.—Court of the Farnese Palace. Rome.

A Roman school of architecture grew up based upon the principles set forth in the construction of St. Peter's. One of Michelangelo's pupils, Giacomo da Vignola, defines them in his Treatise on Architecture. He also worked on St. Peter's, where he constructed the two domes which flank the great central one. They are much lighter in style with their large windows. Vignola's most important work, however, is the Gesù at Rome. Here we find a dome above a single nave flanked by lateral chapels; it is the final development of Alberti's scheme as outlined in the church at Mantua. The wide crossing is lighted from the dome; the thrust of the barrel-vault is arrested by the chapels on either side (fig. 190). The façade of the Gesù is the work of Giacomo della Porta, who already introduced a number of ornamental details which are anything but classical and show the advance of the baroque style. Above the doorway is a shield with hanging garlands in the style of Michelangelo, although the composition is more complicated. The general arrangement of the façade of the Gesù is still that of Leone Battista Alberti in S. Maria Novella at Florence, a relic of the tradition of the preceding century; along the lower story is a series of pilasters and above the second is a pediment (fig. 189). As the lower story is the wider, having the breadth of the nave and chapels, and the upper one only that of the nave, the latter is flanked by undulating curves ending in volutes which ingeniously combine the two stories. This solution was popularized by the treatises of the Renaissance and became the form most widely adopted for the façades of the churches of this period.

But in general the period was not especially noted for its religious struc-

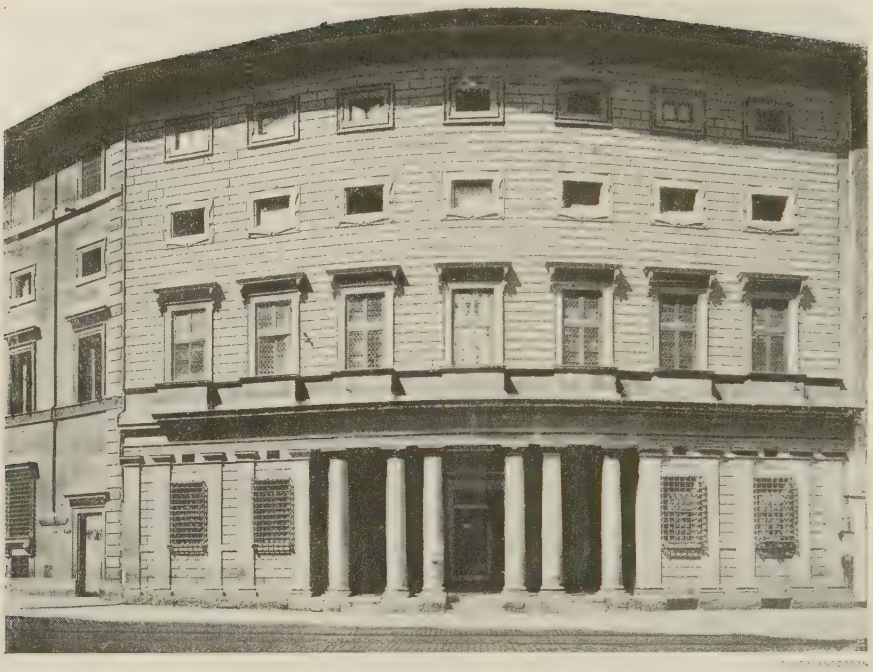


Fig. 195. — Palazzo Massimi. Rome.

tures. It required the genius of a Michelangelo to give to St. Peter's a spiritual effect. The Popes of the Renaissance were more noted for their statesmanship than for their piety, like Julius II. Also they were men of erudition or lovers of art like Leo X and Paul III. When Michelangelo carved the statue of Julius II for Bologna, he put an open book into the hands of the pontiff. The Pope reproved him, saying that a sword would have been more suitable, as he was no man of letters. There is the well known saying of Cardinal Bembo, who advised reading the Bible as little as possible in order not to spoil one's Latin. These men desired to restore classical times, as we see from the architecture which is the most popular of all the arts. The first structure of a residential character which we shall cite is the Vatican itself. It is the more complicated because of the many additions made by the different Popes, but in its essential elements the plan may be reduced to the apartments about the Court of San Damaso and the two long parallel wings which connect this nucleus with the Belvedere. Here are the Museums and the Library which are characteristic accessories of the palace of the Popes.

The Court of San Damaso is the work of Bramante who planned its porticos with a classical simplicity which reminds us of the monuments of ancient Rome. It seems strange that we should find here only three wings, the side toward the city remaining open. In the lower story are the offices of the Curia, and on the main floor the Borgia apartments have been transformed into the Papal Secretariat. The halls leading to the Sistine Chapel are now employed for



Apse of St. Peter's by Michelangelo. The baroque upper story is the work of the Seventeenth Century.

similar purposes. On this floor are the present apartments of the Pope and the salons for audiences and large receptions. In the second story are the apartments of Julius II which were decorated by Raphael. Here, too, is the Chapel of Nicholas V, also the large hall of Paul III. They are all artistically arranged and form a sort of museum. On the third floor of the main building surrounding the Court of San Damaso is the Galleria Geographica together with the apartments of the lesser officials of the palace.



Fig. 196.—The Farnesina. Rome.

All these apartments and galleries are in the U-shaped building lying about the Court of San Damaso, and, as we have already noted, the side of the court toward the Piazza is open. On each floor are long galleries of communication which were beautifully decorated by Raphael and his pupils (fig. 191). This nucleus was originally separate from the Belvedere pavilion which lies at the upper end of the gardens overlooking the city. At the command of Julius II Bramante, after completing the decorations of the structures lying about the court of San Damaso, connected them with those of the Belvedere by means of two long wings. He left between them an immense rectangular court which is called that of La Pigna, because a great bronze pine-cone was set there. It had been taken from one of the ancient Roman buildings, and all during the Middle Ages it had been kept in front of the old basilica of St. Peter's. The Court of the Pigna is embellished by a lofty niche in the wall at the further end which produces a magnificent effect as one looks up the long court (fig. 192).

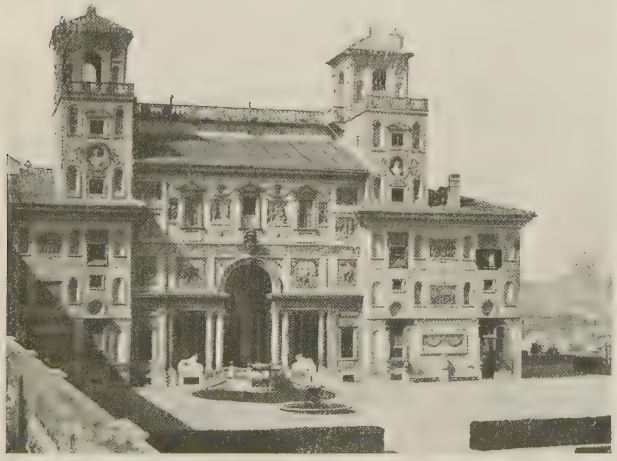


Fig 197.—Villa Medici. Rear view. Rome.

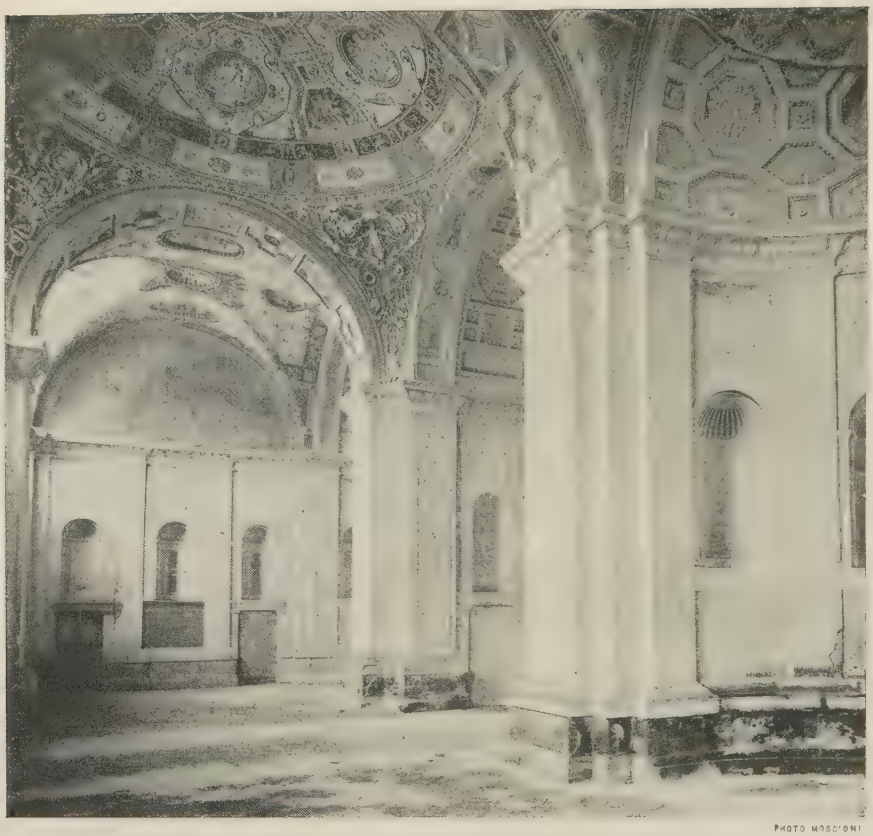


Fig. 198.—Raphael. Portico of the Villa Madama (south side). Rome.

In Bramante's plan it was still more effective, for the court was later divided into two parts by a gallery running across it, making a communication between these two long wings in the middle. These wings, nearly a thousand feet long, as well as the transverse gallery and the Belvedere, are all occupied by museums, archives and a library; indeed, there is not a royal palace in the world which has devoted so much space to purposes of this sort. The group employed for living and reception rooms around the Court of San Damaso is much smaller than the one used for galleries of statues, libraries of precious manuscripts, inscriptions and ritual objects which we find in the museums and the Library of the Vatican. They are magnificently arranged; the statues and pictures all have the dignified setting befitting the great treasures of ancient Rome so admired by the Renaissance Popes who collected them.

The Palace of the Vatican was the greatest work of the time in Rome, and this was the period of the great Roman palaces. We have already noted how at the end of the preceding century Cardinal Riario built the great Palazzo della Cancelleria for his residence. What might we not expect of the cardinals of the Sixteenth Century with their increased resources and the examples of such



PHOTO MOSCIONI

Fig. 199.—Raphael. Portico of the Villa Madama (north side). Rome.

builders as Julius II and Leo X! While he was still cardinal, Paul III, a member of the Farnese family and of foreign origin, constructed the most characteristic palace of the period. It is a colossal block of stone containing a square court of three stories separated by magnificent classical architraves (figs. 193 and 194). The work of Antonio da Sangallo, the exterior with its great walls and sober windows recalls the tradition of the Florentine palaces of the Fifteenth Century, such as the Pitti and Strozzi palaces. But instead of blocks of stone, the windows are embellished with alternating curved and triangular pediments on the first floor; on the second is another band of narrower windows also surmounted by pediments, and above is a cornice ornamented with the fleurs-de-lis of the Farnese arms. The last is the design of Michelangelo himself. The great architects who planned this edifice had a feeling for the monumental compositions of Rome and left in front of the façade a large rectangular square with two fountains. The last are of porphyry and were taken from the Baths of Caracalla. The

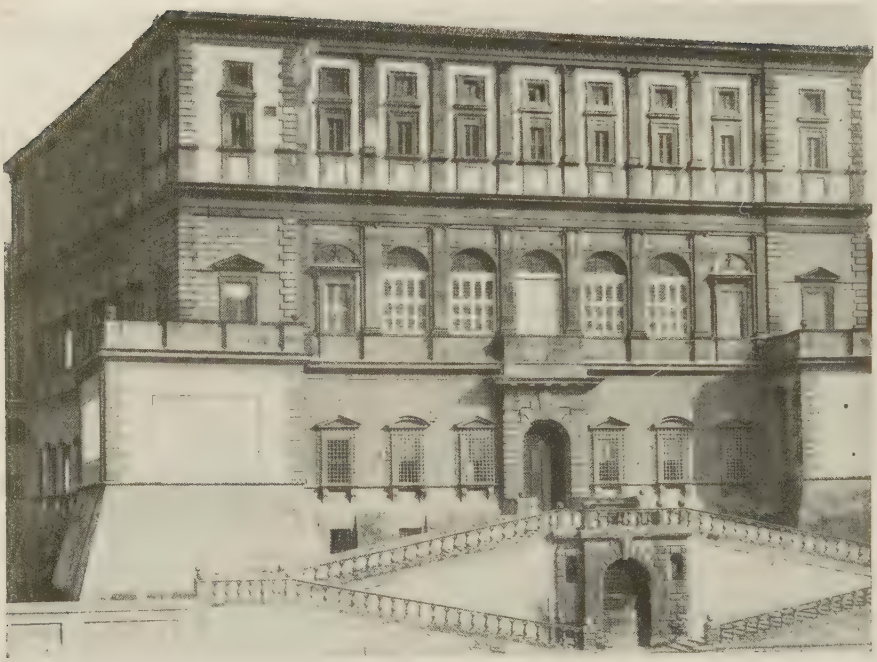


Fig. 200. — Vignola. Palazzo Farnese. CAPRAROLA.

arrangement of the interior is that of a sumptuous palace. The court occupies more than half the area of the palace, and the galleries which extend around it on all three floors take up the half of the remainder. Only the flights of rooms on the façades remained for domestic use, and these have ceilings of large panels or lofty barrel-vaults decorated with paintings.

Another Roman palace very typical of the period is that of the Massimi family which was constructed by Baldassare Peruzzi, another of Michelangelo's pupils. On its austere façade the mouldings are extremely simplified, and there are two stories of high rectangular windows which give the entire edifice a severe appearance (fig. 195). On the ground floor is an open portico occupying the centre of the façade; this is a semipublic place conceded by the lordly proprietor to the populace. On the stone benches of the portico of the Palazzo Massimi we still find the vagabonds of the quarter, and at night beggars sleep there. At either end is a classical statue in a niche; these remind the visitor of the dignity of the family which constructed so noble a residence. Inside, the irregular form of the site is admirably concealed by the two courts. One is rectangular with porticos, and the other is trapezoidal at one end, as may be seen from the front court. The ingenious shapes of the various portions of the palace have the object of producing as imposing an effect as possible on such a site; the problem was one which frequently preoccupied the architects of the Sixteenth Century.

In the same manner on the squares and streets of Rome the irregularities of the ground had to be taken into account as did the fact that so many build-

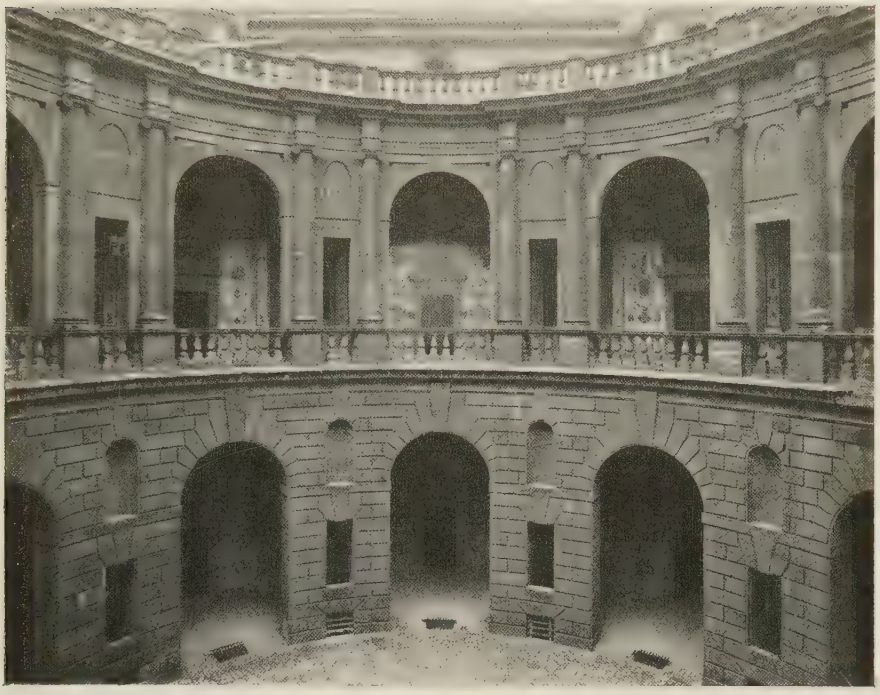


Fig. 201.—Vignola. Court of the Palazzo Farnese. CAPRAROLA.

ings were crowded into the limited area of the capital as it was at that time. It was a period of architectural improvements; the Popes liked to see the great streets named after them which were constructed during each pontificate. Along the Tiber the Via Giulia dates from the time of Julius II, and the Via Sistina, which connects the Esquiline with the Quirinal, with that of Sixtus IV. The same is true of the Via Alessandrina and the Piazza Pia, etc. The squares were laid out with stairways and terraces; we find that feeling for magnificence which we always associate with Rome. The most typical example of a monumental effect achieved by simple expedients is the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitol which was restored by Michelangelo on the occasion of a visit of Emperor Charles V. The palace behind is flanked by two parallel structures with porticos which embellish the two sides of the squares. In the centre is the statue of Marcus Aurelius, and the slope of the hill is ascended by a slight incline ornamented with Roman military trophies and the great statues of Castor and Pollux.

Perhaps the most interesting examples of Sixteenth-century Roman architecture are the villas of the Popes and the powerful cardinals who loved to entertain one another in their country homes. These were filled with beautiful works of classical and Renaissance art. The oldest of these was that of the Popes, the Belvedere, which was later to be connected with the Vatican by the wings constructed by Bramante.

Sometimes the great Roman families which had enjoyed the income of the



Fig. 202. — Michelangelo. Stairway of the Biblioteca Laurenziana. FLORENCE.

Curia for two or three generations were not satisfied with their country villas and constructed smaller residences in the city itself where they could lead a less ceremonious life than that required in their regular palaces. The Farnese family, in addition to the great monumental building which we have described, had a few hundred yards from their large palace a smaller one for some member of the family (fig. 196), and they even acquired from the Chigi of Siena their famous villa in Trastevere which had been decorated by Raphael. The latter is now called the Farnesina.

The same thing occurred with the Medici. On the Via Giulia they possessed a palace that had been commenced in Cosimo's time, but his successors, a number of whom were cardinals and Popes, built other structures which perpetuate their names. Thus we have the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill now occupied by the Accademia di Francia. On the exterior it has a simple façade characterized by the ochre tone with which it has been painted, but which harmonizes admirably with the dark green of the pines and cypresses of the Roman gardens. In front of it is a terrace permitting the public to enjoy the splendid view. A large jet of water gushes from a fountain into the antique basin below, and above it are carefully trimmed live-oaks. On the other side of the villa is a livelier façade of a more rustic character (fig. 197). Here the great prince who built it set into the wall antique Roman reliefs which were uncovered at the time. Here again are peacefull gardens of trimmed box like those of Florence to remind the occupants of their villas in Tuscany.

The Medici began another villa which would, perhaps, have been the most delightful of any at Rome, but it was left uncompleted. Its site on the slope of the Monte Mario commands a view of Rome and much of the surrounding country. It is named the Villa Madama after a personage of royal rank into whose possession it fell later. Abandoned and used for many years as a stable, it is now almost a ruin, but it still preserves its aristocratic charm. The front portion of the building is in such bad preservation that it is difficult to tell much about its original appearance, but the east façade facing the garden terrace still bears witness to the elegance of the work of the Roman decorators of Raphael's school. The loggia, or portico, is covered with painted stucco of incomparable delicacy (figs. 198 and 199). The pilasters, the arches supporting the roof, the domes and niches are all bordered with fine arabesques of stucco.



Fig. 203. — G. Vasari. Court of the Uffizi Palace. FLORENCE.

In the panels of the vaults are miniatures and allegories more beautiful even than those of ancient Rome. Indeed, they were executed in imitation of those of Nero's Golden House or the vaults of the Palatine. Another villa characteristic of the Sixteenth Century is that of Pope Julius II on the Via Flaminia. It is today an Etruscan museum, but still bears the name of the Villa di Papa Giulio. Nothing could be more graceful than the plan of this structure which was drawn by Vignola. The main portion ends in a semicircular court with an open portico on each floor. These crescent-shaped corridors correspond to the rectangular ones in the front of the building. The irregular spaces between have been utilized for stairways. To the rear is a series of lower structures enclosing a large garden shaded by low walls. In the last, there is below the level of the ground a subterranean bath in a grotto supported by caryatids where the summer heat could not penetrate.

The construction of so many pavilions, loggias, walls and balustrades to embellish these Roman gardens was stimulated by the abundance of antique architectural fragments, fusts of columns and blocks of stone, which were so easy to obtain from the ancient ruins. Moreover, Rome is a well watered city; its old aqueducts still bring in rivers of water, and the architects who built these villas for the Popes and cardinals took advantage of this abundance to beautify them with basins, baths and cascades.

The most noteworthy in this respect is the villa constructed in 1548 for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este at Tivoli not far from Rome. Here water runs on every side from hundreds of fountains and cascades into basins set in the centres of



Fig. 204. – Court of the Palace of the Doges. VENICE.

the open spaces between the tall cypresses or into great tanks whose surfaces reflect the architectural features and fanciful pavilions which embellish the gardens.

The influence of the Roman school of architecture spread to every part of Italy, but, strangely enough, this is more plainly seen in Venetia and Lombardy than closer at hand. There is still at Caprarola in the Province of Rome the most typical of the great country residences. This is the Palazzo Farnese which is the work of Vignola. The great structure has a pentagonal plan with a round central court of two stories (figs. 200 and 201). In the Sixteenth Century this palace had the architectural importance enjoyed by that of Urbino in the Fifteenth. The pavilions at the five corners which take the form of military bastions are very characteristic. The transformation of military architecture in this period produced new types, and for this reason structures of a purely artistic character, like the palace at Caprarola, reflect the tastes of the period. Not only Vignola, but even Michelangelo as well, took an interest in military construction. During the war between the Republic of Florence and the Medici, he took charge of the fortification of the exposed portions of the city. Antonio da Sangallo constructed a number of castles in the Province of Rome for the warlike Julius II, among them those at Ostia, Nettuno and Cività Vecchia. This was almost a specialty of Sansovino; he was accustomed to build a system of small forts with walls inclined in curved forms which, in spite of their artistic appearance, were not lacking in sound military principles.

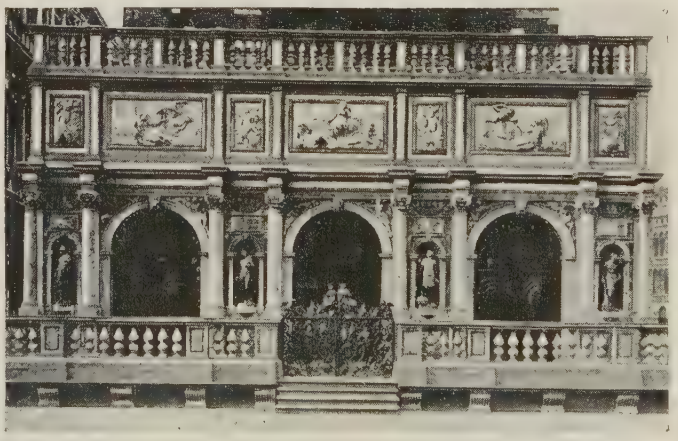


Fig. 205. – Sansovino's Loggetta at the foot of the Campanile. VENICE.

In Tuscany, Michelangelo was

naturally the undisputed master. The representative of his school at Florence was Vasari, who carried out a number of projects for the Medici. The Florentine Popes took advantage of Michelangelo's presence at Rome to make him work for their native city as well. Leo X persuaded him to undertake the completion of the façade of S. Lorenzo at Florence which Brunelleschi had constructed for the great Cosimo, but which had never been entirely completed. Another Pope of the same family commissioned the old sculptor to execute the stairway of the Biblioteca Laurenziana. Michelangelo sent his plans and drawings to Vasari who actually carried out the project. It is of unusual construction with pilasters and cornices set into the wall as though hewn out; Michelangelo certainly took the idea from a Roman tomb, the so-called Temple of the Deus Rediculus (fig. 202).



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 206. — Sansovino. The Library. VENICE.

Vasari did not receive so much aid from Michelangelo in his direction of the construction of the great Uffizi Palace in Florence which was to house every branch of the administration. In the upper story, now the museum, the Medici kept their collections. A long gallery had been constructed extending across an entire city ward and even crossed the river. This served as a communication between the Pitti Palace, where they lived, and their art gallery in the Uffizi. A great lord of that period felt that he must have a museum connected with his residence. In the Uffizi we find two wings consisting of long galleries and united by a shorter transverse corridor beside the river. Inside is a long court open at one end and leading to the Piazza della Signoria; it affords a marvelous view of the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio. Thus from the bank of the river one can look through the portico and across the long court and see the corner of the mediaeval palace of the Signoria with its walls of rude stone (fig. 203).

Galeazzo Alessi, another pupil of Michelangelo, carried the style of the master to Genoa. For the wealthy merchants of Liguria, Alessi was inclined to build structures of exaggerated proportions. In the case of the palaces of Genoa with their extremely long façades, the most splendid feature is the stairway with the flights of steps coming together at each landing. Alessi also worked at Milan, where he planned the Palazzo Marino, now the Municipio.



Fig. 207. — Palladio. Exterior of the Basilica. VICENZA.

From the end of the Fifteenth Century we find a certain tendency toward magnificence in architecture at Venice. The façade of the court in the Palace of the Doges, the work of Antonio Rizzo, is a monumental superimposition of galleries with strong mouldings and ornaments in high relief of a sort not employed in Florence and Rome at the end of the quattrocento (fig. 204).

There was in Venice a certain traditional strength and richness which made an impression on the artists who had come from other parts of Italy. This was certainly the case with Sansovino, a Florentine sculptor who had done more or less work at the papal court and had fled from Rome when the city was sacked by the Connêtable de Bourbon. On his way to France he passed through Venice, where the Republic invited him to remain, and he ended by becoming a thorough Venetian. Here he worked chiefly as an architect, but the sculptural decorations of his façades show that he never forgot his earlier profession.

The wealth of ornamentation, the high reliefs and the statues crowning his structures became traditional characteristics of the Venetian Renaissance.

Nowhere do we find a better example of Sansovino's combination of sculptural elements with architecture than in the so-called Loggetta at the foot of the campanile (fig. 205). It has a small monumental vestibule, once a rendez-vous of the Nobili; indeed, its lack of practical utility may be thanked for the manner in which it is decorated. On either side of its three archways are niches containing statues, and the structure is crowned with a high frieze of reliefs. Another characteristic specimen of Sansovino's style is the sumptuous palace formerly occupied by the Library. It consists of a double colonnade with richly decorated

arches surmounted by a frieze of thick garlands (fig. 206).

The style of the Venetian Renaissance was further developed, or rather exaggerated, by two architects of the next generation. These were Sammichele and Andrea Palladio, the former of Verona and the latter of Vicenza. Both the works and writings of Palladio were to exert an influence which has endured down to our own times. Inigo Jones, who introduced Renaissance architecture into England, took him for his master, and the pupils of the English architect formed a school which spread Palladio's style even to America, where it is still a living force. Palladio was at once a worker and a revolutionary, a studious observer of both ancient and modern art. Filled with the confidence of his convictions, he carried out his very original ideas with unbounded audacity; indeed, he reminds us of Leone Battista Alberti. He was an assiduous student of Vitruvius and went to Rome where he made large drawings of the ruins which have come down to us. He measured the ancient structures and compared them with the rules laid down by Vitruvius. At Rome he worked on St. Peter's under Michelangelo, and returning home with the knowledge he had assimilated, he began to put his ideas into effect. Most of his work was at Vicenza which he filled with magnificent monuments; indeed, it is well named the city of Palladio.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 208. — Interior of the portico of the Basilica. VICENZA.

His best known work is the restoration of the Municipal Palace, originally a Gothic building of the Thirteenth Century, which he surrounded on three sides with magnificent porticos (figs. 207 and 208). To the façade of this palace, now called the Basilica Palladiana, he applied all the resources of his mature art. Particularly striking is his ingenious system of combining two types of columns in the same story; the taller ones support the frieze crowning the structure, while between them he introduced smaller columns which give the former an effect of grandeur (fig. 207).

He invented what might be called the gigantesque order in which everything had to be great and magnificent in imitation of the Roman architecture. On the façades of his palaces he combined great columns, sometimes as high as the façade itself, with smaller entablatures. In the courts, particularly, the tall



Fig. 209.—Palladio. Villa Rotonda. Vicenza.

columns tower up to the highest cornice, while the smaller ones correspond to the height of the various stories.

In his book Palladio attempts to include the vast range of architecture which he divides into four groups, public buildings, houses, villas and churches. It is to be noted that he puts country homes, or villas, in a class by themselves, which he justifies by drawing a most delightful picture of the country gentleman: "Although it is very convenient," he says, "for a gentleman to have a house in the city where he is obliged to go at times, either because he fills some post with the government or in order to attend to his affairs, his greatest relaxation and pleasure in every way will be found in his country home, where he may enjoy seeing the land increase his wealth or where he may preserve his health and strength by walking and riding on horseback. Here, too, he may rest his mind from the fatigues of the city, peacefully applying himself to study or in the contemplation of nature." Following this introduction, Palladio describes the ideal country seat, its situation away from any swamp, the house and the various rustic buildings. He was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to carry out his ideas on a number of occasions, but the best known example is the so-called Villa Rotonda not far from Vicenza. Palladio himself describes with enthusiasm the ideal site of this villa. It was built by a rich parvenu who had been referendary under Pius IV and Pius V and had returned with his wealth to Vicenza (fig. 209). It is raised upon a basement containing the kitchen and offices. Upon a terrace approached by four monumental stairways is the square villa. The sleeping rooms are at the corners and in the centre is a great circular hall covered by a dome.

Palladio also constructed the church of the Redentore and S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice in both of which he followed his system of combining columns

of different heights (fig. 211). Another famous structure is the theatre which he built for the Accademia Olimpica at Vicenza, of which he was a member (fig. 210). Begun in 1580, it was completed after his death in 1584 and inaugurated by the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.



Fig. 210.—Palladio. Stage decoration of the theatre at Vicenza.

Finally, after two centuries of imitations of antiquity, efforts and trial essays, a struggle with the technical difficulties involved in developing a new style, we have a period of success and triumph. It was an epoch of great men and wonderful buildings: Bramante, Michelangelo, Sansovino and Palladio; the dome of St. Peter's, the Library at Venice and the Basilica at Vicenza. This is the goal attained after so many and continued efforts. We are again at one of those great moments which mark the slow upward path of human progress. Sure of themselves, these men not only erected great monuments, but they also understood the laws governing their art. Their books disseminated their ideas. Serlio, Vignola and Palladio all wrote treatises which facilitated the application of the principles of the Italian Renaissance in the other countries of Europe.



Fig. 211.—Palladio. The Redentore. VICENZA.

The illustrated treatises of these Sixteenth-century Italian architects have been used as text-books in schools of architecture everywhere down to our own time. This is especially true of the writings of Serlio and Vignola where we find sample models of mouldings and columns which have been so slavishly copied in cheap buildings as to discredit somewhat the style itself. For more than a century Vignola's plates have been misused in this manner by his imitators in their attempts to compose a truly classical façade. Palladio is more difficult to imitate. His designs are always of a gigantesque character which

does not lend itself to cheap buildings. Palladio was something more than an architect and writer of treatises; there was much of the great artist in him. He drew the plates for the first edition of Vitruvius which was not printed until 1556, and he illustrated an edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* with drawings of various military devices. So we see that he was really a great man with that universality of genius so typical of the Italian Renaissance.

Summary. — The Sixteenth Century was the Golden Age of the Roman Renaissance. Florence now took second place; her artists flocked to the papal court, summoned by those great patrons of art, Julius II and Leo X. The great work of the period was the church of St. Peter's, the rebuilding of which had already been planned during the preceding century. Bramante, an architect from Urbino, was entrusted with the building of the new temple, but he did not live to see his project carried out. His main idea was a square structure with an enormous dome in the centre, the thrust of which should be arrested by four smaller domes. After Bramante's death his successors somewhat simplified his plan, but the project of a great dome over the tomb of St. Peter must be ascribed to Michelangelo. He it was who gave this cupola its definite form and determined the character of the façades with their bold masterly lines. For several hundred years St. Peter's dome was imitated in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. The architects of the school of Michelangelo filled Rome with magnificent palaces. The Popes and cardinals also had built for them villas and country places with great gardens, porticos, fountains and basins. In the city itself new streets were laid out with an eye for the splendid views they afforded, and squares were embellished with terraces and monumental stairways. In the other cities the pupils of Michelangelo spread the principles established at Rome, particularly in the North of Italy. At Florence Vasari, in collaboration with Michelangelo, executed the stairway of the Biblioteca Laurenziana and the Uffizi Palace; Alessi constructed many palaces of a monumental character at Genoa; and, most important of all, Sansovino at Venice, Sammichele at Verona and Palladio at Vicenza were the great architects of the Italian Renaissance in the north during this century.

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Fig. 212. — Raphael. Detail of the Chigi Chapel.
(S. Maria del Popolo.) Rome.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 213. — Leonardo da Vinci. The Last Supper. *(S. Maria delle Grazie.)* Milan

CHAPTER VIII

ITALIAN PAINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — LEONARDO AND HIS PUPILS. LUINI, SODOMA. — RAPHAEL. — SIGNORELLI. — THE PAINTINGS OF MICHELANGELO. ANDREA DEL SARTO. — CORREGGIO.

During the last third of the Fifteenth Century the painters of Central Italy completely mastered the technique of their art. The times were favorable for the appearance of men of great genius, and we admire these painters not only for their strength of feeling and spiritual insight, as in the case of Giotto, but also for the perfection of their work in every detail such as we find in the classical art of Greece and Rome.

Nevertheless, the greatest man in this new period of Italian art was still tormented by his efforts to achieve technical perfection. Born in 1452 in the little village of Vinci not far from Florence, he was the son of the town notary and a peasant girl. The young Leonardo was adopted by his father and grew up deprived of a mother's care. His reflective temperament and inquiring mind were to some extent the result of his bringing up; he was a precocious child with a decidedly intellectual tendency. "Extraordinary power was in his case conjoined with remarkable facility." At first his father planned for him a literary career for which he showed much promise; later he learned music, and he displayed a talent for improvising songs. Indeed, when an old man and in a foreign land, he still took pleasure in his music. His writings are filled with eulogies of this art which for him was inferior only to the greatest art of all, that of painting. When Leonardo began to show a marked talent for painting, his father put him into the school of Verrocchio; but, as Vasari says, he not only cultivated the new art, but every



Fig. 214. — Leonardo da Vinci. Sketch.

other one in which drawing or designing had any part. He was an excellent geometrician, and he interested himself in architecture as well as sculpture. He was a physicist, a mathematician and an engineer as well, being one of the first to conceive of turning the Arno into a canal reaching from Florence to Pisa. Here again in the young Leonardo we find the universality of genius peculiar to that age. But his ever changing projects would not have gained from his Florentine fellow-citizens the honor that his genius really deserved. There was no longer a Cosimo de Medici to discern in the extravagant ideas of a young man the genius that was to enrich his maturity. So it came about that Leonardo offered his services to Ludovico Sforza (il Moro), the Duke of Milan. The latter was an ambitious man newly come to power who desired to appear as a patron of the arts. We still have the rough draft of Leonardo's letter to Ludovico in which we find a full account of the versatile genius of the writer. He says that he is capable of constructing bridges and canals, works of military engineering and engines of war, and that no other can rival him in the arts of painting, architecture and sculpture, especially the last named, for he knew that this would attract the attention of the Duke who desired a great equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, who had extinguished the line of the Visconti and put in their place his own family in power in Milan. Indeed, Leonardo planned this equestrian monument, bringing to the task the genius for magnificence and for innovations which always distinguished the artist. The horse itself was to him more than merely a work of art; it stimulated him to meditate on the form and nature of this fine animal. His books, or memoirs, are filled with sketches of the various portions of a horse's anatomy. He executed a colossal model in clay which was duly admired but was never to be cast in metal. It served as the butt of the French archers of Louis XII who captured the city in 1498 and later was entirely destroyed.

The period which Leonardo spent in Milan was occupied not only by this work, but also in planning a canal system for Lombardy, innumerable architectural projects, engines of war and even a flying machine. In connection with the last he wrote a treatise on aviation in which we find many sagacious observations of the flight of birds. He does not seem to have given especial attention to painting, but, nevertheless, it is to this period that two of his most important pictures belong. These are the Virgin of the Rocks which he painted for the brotherhood of the Conception of St. Francis, and the Last Supper in the convent church of S. Maria delle Grazie. Of the former we have two identical pictures, one in the Louvre and the other in the National Gallery at London. It is

not known which of these was the original. The study Leonardo devoted to every detail of this work is seen in the many sketches which have been preserved. Here we already find the marvelous atmosphere so typical of Leonardo's creations. The romantic landscape of rocks is illuminated by a mysterious glow emanating from the background, while the Madonna presents the Child Jesus to the young John who is accompanied by a beautiful angel. (Plate XII.) A narrow stream of water runs along the ground, and the rocks above are hung with moss; it is interesting to note the Florentine artist's love for the mineral kingdom. Here, almost at the foot of the Alps, he seems to have been profoundly impressed by the vision of their rugged panorama.



Fig. 215. — Leonardo da Vinci. Sketch.

For him the Alpine Lakes and the great rivers of Lombardy had all the attraction of novelty; his manuscripts reflect his admiration for the scenery, so much grander than that of his native Tuscany. In one place he describes a tempest on Lake Maggiore, and he was often carried away by his various impressions. In his treatise on painting he tells us that he does not know which to admire most, this beautiful world, or the human eye with its capacity for seeing it. We should hardly be astonished therefore, that his interpretation of nature was so personal. He was obliged to transform it somewhat in order to be able to give to the world his own impressions.



Fig. 216. — Leonardo da Vinci. Sketch.

The other picture which Leonardo painted at Milan is the famous Last Supper in S. Maria delle Grazie. Hardly a painting has so often been reproduced in copies and engravings (fig. 213). It is the most popular work of art of any period, and as soon as it was completed it was immediately admired as a most remarkable thing. Francis I of France proposed to carry it home with him, but the idea was abandoned as impracticable, for it would have been necessary to transport the entire wall. Reproduced in engravings and later in colored lithographs, this wall-painting at Milan has brought something of its beauty to every class of society. Some of Raphael's Madonnas alone can compare even with the wide popularity of Leonardo's Last Supper. We are so accustomed



Fig. 217. — Leonardo da Vinci. La Gioconda. *(Louvre.)*

to it that we are apt to lose sight of its perfection. With all the simplicity of a natural work, it seems to be the product of an inspired hour, executed by magic and without any effort. And yet we know how slowly Leonardo developed this composition. The prior of the convent marvelled at the long hours the artist spent alone in the large hall where he was painting and apparently making little progress on the picture. Bandello, the novelist, also gives us important data regarding the conception of the work. "Leonardo would sometimes go for three or four days without touching his brushes and with folded arms would contemplate the Last Supper as though criticizing his own work... I have seen him at midday sometimes, when the streets of Milan were deserted because of the heat, walking rapidly from the Castello were he had been working on the horse and taking the shortest route to the convent delle Grazie that he might give two or three strokes of the brush to one of the heads of the Last Supper and then return immediately to the Castello."

Leonardo's sketches tell of his trial essays; at first he set the figure of Judas apart from the other apostles, in front of the table as Andrea del Castagno had done at Florence. Afterward, it seemed to him that this solitary figure would break the unity of the composition, and he placed the apostles in two groups of six each on either side of the Master. The latter in the centre gently bowed his head as though already pardoning him who was to betray him. Vasari tells us that it was the figure of Christ that delayed the completion of the work and that the artist never really finished it; "he could not find in his mind a figure with the celestial grace and beauty befitting the incarnation of the Divinity." The soft sketch slightly colored, now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, is the earliest of the Master; it has, perhaps, even more intensity of expression than in the picture itself. Here the head of Jesus is bathed in light, for Leonardo skilfully placed three windows in the background, and the centre one is directly behind the head of the Master. With this very natural device, the attention of the beholder is drawn to this illuminated spot which is occupied only by the



Leonardo da Vinci. The Virgin of the Rocks. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

figure of the Saviour. On either side the apostles in animated groups discuss his utterance. The apartment is simply decorated by the panels in the wall, and we see little more than the long white table which runs horizontally along the front of the composition, much as we find it in the works of Fra Angelico and Andrea del Castagno at Florence. So we see that the perfection of the composition is the result of several generations of types as was the case with the Greek statues.



PHOTO BRAUN

Fig. 218. — Leonardo da Vinci.
St. Anne with the Virgin and Child. *(Louvre.)*

After Ludovico il Moro fell into the hands of the French, Leonardo returned to his own province, and we have two more pictures which he painted at this time. Vasari gives them the eulogies they well deserve. Both are now in the Louvre; one is the group of the Virgin and St. Anne, and the other, the famous portrait of La Gioconda. The former is a graceful composition elaborated with the greatest attention to every detail. The cartoon containing the original draft of the picture shows a fourth figure, that of St. John, which is not found in the painting itself; moreover, the Virgin is in a less original position, seated in the lap of St. Anne, while in the picture she bends forward with a spontaneous movement which is most realistic (fig. 218). Of the Gioconda Vasari writes: "After Leonardo had begun the portrait of Mona Lisa, the wife of Zanobi del Giocondo, he spent four years on it, leaving it uncompleted. The portrait is now in the Château of Fontainebleau of the King of France". This was written in 1547; Vasari could describe it only by what was remembered of it in Florence, for he himself had never seen the picture. In its time it must have been the most remarkable portrait ever seen in Florence, for he describes it at considerable length. He says that Leonardo surrounded Mona Lisa with singers and musicians to cheer her and take from her countenance the melancholy expression so often seen in a portrait. This observation shows that he attached great importance to the smile of La Gioconda, although it is very likely that the effect which Leonardo intended to produce by the music was not so much to enliven the face of the sitter as to give it that calm and serenity of spirit, that abstraction, which we seem to see upon her countenance.

In addition to these four works of Leonardo there are two others which are

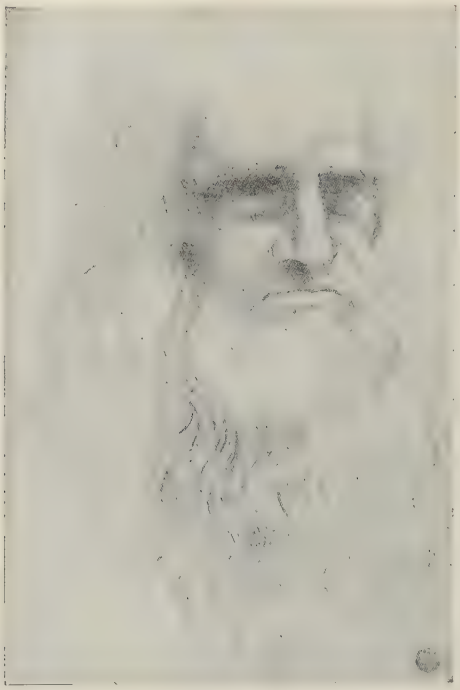


Fig. 219. Leonardo da Vinci. Portrait of himself. *(Turin Library.)*

not completed, the Adoration of the Magi in Florence and the St. Jerome in the Vatican. But as the years passed, his temperament and his exaggerated passion for perfection seemed more and more to hinder the completion of his works. At Rome, where he spent two years, his enthusiams led him into many undertakings, but least of all did he paint. "Here he did innumerable mad things," writes Vasari, "and proposed various methods of preparing oils and varnishes for the better preservation of his works. This fatal preoccupation was what caused the deterioration of so many of the pictures which he painted in later life. Many of these innovations with which he thought to improve the art of painting have obscured and damaged his pictures. In some cases this took place even during his lifetime; upon his return to Florence, the city-government commissioned him to paint a large composition portraying the struggle with Milan. This was to rival Michelangelo's proposed picture of the war with Pisa. Neither finished his work. Michelangelo was called by the Pope to Bologna, and Leonardo, "as he thought an oil painting would come out better than a fresco, covered the wall with some thick mixture from which the paint immediately scaled off, so it had to be abandoned."

But the drawings preserved at Florence show Leonardo's ability in portraying horses. In one representing a group of horsemen fighting to capture a flag, the anger of one faction and the courage of the other defending it are so admirable that two centuries later Rubens copied it, considering it a work well worthy of his study.

Weariness and disillusionment, as well as his work, weakened the robust strength of a man who, Vasari tells us, could bend a horseshoe with his hands. His last portrait of himself, a sketch now in Turin, shows a lined face, flowing beard and the hair receding from the broad forehead. "Oh Leonardo, how have you suffered," the great artist seems to ask himself, as indeed he did in one of his manuscripts. His last years were passed in the Castle of Cloux near Amboise which was assigned to his use by the King of France. His last work was probably the strange picture now in the Louvre in which we see a graceful haunting figure which may be either St. John the Baptist or a half feminine personage like Bacchus; indeed it may be an angel. According to Vasari, he died in the



Fig. 220. — Bernardino Luini. Adoration of the Magi. *(Church of Saronno.)*

arms of the King himself who had come to console him. At the age of seventy-five and after a most active life he left but four or five works entirely completed; but, as Vasari says, what he said counted for more than what he did. For this reason his true service to art was only understood in later years, when his writings had been published. These constitute a dozen large volumes filled with the most acute observations, experiments and sketches of everything which he had seen and which had made a deep impression upon him. There are caricatures,



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Fig. 223. — Il Sodoma. Portrait of himself. *(Monte Oliveto.)*

colored robes of the angels is admirable (fig. 221). This work alone would be sufficient to make Luini famous, but even in his less original paintings, in his countless smiling Madonnas, he always preserves something of Leonardo's lofty spirit.

But the artist who was to introduce something of the power of Lombardy into the Tuscan school was the painter known as Sodoma and long supposed to be a gross sensualist. He was born at Vercelli in Lombardy and his name was Antonio Bazzi, though he was better known by his sobriquet. This Lombard painter, to whom Vasari gives so evil a reputation, acquired something of Leonardo's style in his youth. Later he moved to Tuscany and lived in Siena. In this city and the neighboring monasteries he painted for many years. Thus the painting of Central Italy, exhausted by the lifeless efforts of the pupils of Perugino and Botticelli, was revived by new blood from outside. Il Sodoma contributed not a little to the revival of the moribund schools of Florence and Umbria. As we have already noted, this strange artist began his career in the Leonardesque atmosphere of Milan. His was a lawless genius, and he did not lack a capacity for invention. Nevertheless, at best his faculties decayed, his spirit languished, and in spite of their imposing garb, his figures are but poor manikins. But when this dissolute Lombard was at the height of his powers, what an extraordinary facility he had for the creation of original themes! It is at Siena that he is seen at his best; here he was married and here he died. Siena had always been known as a city of refinement and excessive luxury, and Il Sodoma catered to the taste of his adopted home. Some of the finest paintings still to be found there are the frescoes of this artist in the church of S. Domenico. Especially good is the famous Ecstasy of St. Catharine, who swoons in the arms of her companions. Above appears the Divine Spouse the vision of whom is the cause of her rapture. As a matter of fact, the figure

of Christ is not as good as the remainder of the composition, but the fainting Saint (fig. 222) has an abandon, an expression of divine love, that is most convincing. Her ecstasy is such that her senses are paralyzed.

Another figure of Christ on the column in the Accademia at Siena has a Herculean frame, but it is gracefully relaxed and the glance of the Saviour has an expression of unusual charm; it is really the companion type to that of the swooning Saint. These are the two figures of Il Sodoma which impress themselves most strongly on the memory of the beholder. Still this artist, whose feeling seems to have been exhausted before he completed a painting, possessed the vigorous Lombard temperament and was capable of executing a series of twenty-six frescoes at Monte Oliveto. In the cloister of this monastery he illustrated the life of St. Benedict. Vasari tells a number of stories about the artist's sojourn of five years in the great Tuscan abbey; one can hardly imagine such a man confined to monastic life for so long a period, except for the short intervals which he occupied with other commissions. Only a painter's love for his art could have brought him to it. The frescoes of Monte Oliveto are, like all the works of Il Sodoma, composed of a combination of amazing beauty and vulgarity. We see, one by one, the miracles of St. Benedict as related in the legends and vulgarized in keeping with the Benedictine manuscripts. In one of the frescoes appears the painter himself, a young man with a rather theatrical sword. His hair is long and he wears a large cloak. With him are some little dogs, a marmot and a duck. He reminds us of one of the eccentric decadents of the last century with the same affectations of estheticism only with less art (fig. 223).



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 224. — Il Sodoma. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. *(Pitti Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

For one of the brotherhoods of Siena he painted a St. Sebastian which is, perhaps, his best work; at least it has been the one most widely reproduced (fig. 224). It is the figure of a magnificent youth. Here Il Sodoma had no difficulties with composition. The nude body is a beautiful example of the androgynous type and is slightly bent. In spite of the subject, it has a certain sensuality, for we have here rather a modern Ganymede or Hylas. The head of Il Sodoma's St. Sebastian has a beauty never to be forgotten. Finally the artist went to Rome at the call of the banker, Agostino Chigi, who was the Pope's administrator and



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Fig. 225. - Raphael. St. George. *(Louvre.)*

had charge of the papal properties. Chigi engaged the Lombard painter to work on the decorations of the Vatican, and the latter achieved a great success. Even Raphael himself painted with Il Sodoma at his side as his principal collaborator. But if in the apartments of the Vatican Il Sodoma's work is eclipsed by that of Raphael, it appears to better advantage in some other frescoes which he painted for Chigi himself. Here we can really appreciate the style of the Lombard painter. Chigi, who lived in the Cancelleria granted him by the Pope, had constructed a residence on the other side of the Tiber on the occasion of his approaching marriage with Octavia Piccolomini. This little palace was later acquired by the Farnese family and is today called the Farnesina. Adorned on the outside only by some charming decorative pilasters, it was the work of Baldassare Peruzzi, and Il Sodoma decorated the banker's sleeping apartment on the first floor with some rather theatrical scenes from the life of Alexander. In one of the panels the subject rendered is of more than ordinary interest to the student of art. Here Il Sodoma has attempted to interpret again with new forms and colors Aëtion's theme of the marriage of Alexander and Roxanna described by Lucian. It is the same sort of thing that Botticelli tried to do with Apelles' Calumny. Some erudite friend of Chigi's evidently gave Il Sodoma the details of the figures as found in Lucian, and the idea was to paint a graphic illustration of Lucian's text. In the ancient picture the composure and ingenuousness of Roxanna were greatly admired, but in the fresco by Il Sodoma the princess unfastens the shoulder of her tunic with little restraint. The hero approaches her, while on the floor there are little Cupids play-



Fig. 226. — Raphael. The Three Graces. *(Musée Condé.)* CHANTILLY.

ing with the arms of the conqueror.

Later Raphael and his pupils decorated the lower portico of the Farnesina with scenes from the story of Psyche, but they respected Il Sodoma's frescoes more than those of any other painter. The character of this man is most intriguing; it is still difficult to understand him. He made long journeys to see a horse-race, dabbled in chiromancy, and yet the Pope made him a Knight of the Order of Christ and Charles V created him a Count Palatine. He was Raphael's favorite master as well.



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 227.—Raphael. Betrothal of the Virgin. *(Brera Gallery.)* MILAN.

We now come to the most eminent artists of the century, men who had profited from the efforts of every school and whose work stands out as the result of the long development of Italian painting. One of these was the famous Raphael, the son of a poor painter in Urbino by the name of Giovanni Santi. Vasari calls him a *persona costumata e gentile,* but his pictures display a style and technique that are only mediocre. Raphael aided his father in the various commissions which he executed in the neighborhood of Urbino and was also the pupil of another painter who had established himself in the district. The latter was Timoteo della Vite, who had been one of the foremost pupils of a painter of Bologna called Francesco Francia and who in turn had studied in the school of Leonardo and with the early Venetian painters. Thus through Francia and Vite we find in Urbino something of the style of Northern Italy just at the time when Raphael's unusually adaptable character was in process of formation. We are uncertain as to how he came into personal contact with Francia, but we know that this was still the case when he was at the height of his fame. In any case Raphael at first depended more on the school of Francia than on any other.



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 228. — Raphael. The Madonna del Gran Duca. *(Pitti Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

The figures of his earliest pictures have a certain morbid roundness and at the same time the characteristic force of the schools of Northern Italy. Nevertheless, Raphael's natural endowment is seen in the three works of his youth that have been preserved. These are the Knight's Dream of Duty and Pleasure in the National Gallery, the St. George in the Louvre and the Three Graces at Chantilly. In the first a young man is asleep in a rather ordinary landscape while on either side appear Pleasure and Duty. In the St. George in the Louvre we see the trees so typical of the Umbrian school. St. George is again the ideal of knighthood which we find at the court of Urbino together with a desire to revive the classical spirit. The Three Graces at Chantilly is a repetition of an ancient theme; in both painting and sculpture are many examples of this group of three maidens with joined hands (fig. 226). It occurs in Botticelli's Spring, but here they are neurotic Florentine girls. It is in Raphael's little painting that we again find the robust beauty of ancient art, a wholesome ideal of feminine beauty.

He was indeed a fortunate youth, as Francia called him, to be able to produce such admirable work at a very early age as well as assimilate the artistic innovations which were imported into Urbino in a rather weakened form. But he was soon to be subject to a still more decisive influence in the school of Perugino. Vasari's account of how his father, noting the unusual talent of the son, put him into Perugino's studio is now discredited, but in any case we find him there at the commencement of the Sixteenth Century, and from this master he learned many things that he was never to forget. His charming picture of the Betrothal of the Virgin (the Spozalizio), now in the Brera Gallery at Milan, shows the stereotyped faces of Perugino's characters. Accompanying Mary are the maidens of Judah with the affected gestures so typical of Perugino and on the other side of the Virgin the suitors break their rods and put their hands on Joseph's shoulders. These men are still dressed in the hose of the Fifteenth Century. The small round temple in the background bears witness to the new architectural tastes; Bramante might have planned this classical temple surrounded by columns and crowned with a central cupola (fig. 227). This extraordinary painting which bears the date of 1504 must have been executed before he left



Fig. 229. — Stanza della Segnatura, decorated by Raphael. To the right, the School of Athens; to the left, Parnassus. *(Raphael's Stanze.)* VATICAN.

Umbria, when the artist was only twenty-one years old. He was working at that time in the church of S. Francesco at Città di Castello, and in this early picture Vasari already notes his progress and the manner in which he refined and improved Perugino's manner. "There is a temple," the writer remarks, "drawn with such love that it is an admirable thing to see how he practised the solution of difficulties." Perugino had already painted a similar temple in the Sistine Chapel (fig. 172), but it was decidedly inferior to the one we see in Raphael's Betrothal standing out against the transparent blue sky in the luminous background.

About the beginning of the year 1505 the youthful painter went to Florence where he installed himself in a studio of his own. Down to this time Florence had been the great art centre; Perugino, too, had to go there before he became famous, and there had as yet been no great painter who was not a Florentine either by birth or adoption. Florence was still filled with great works of art, although after the beginning of the Sixteenth Century its artistic treasures no longer accumulated as they had before. Here we find Raphael completing a certain phase of his artistic career. His contact with the elegance of Florence caused his spirit to unfold, and the pupil of Francia and Perugino painted during these four years a series of pictures, principally of the Virgin and Child, which still possess a delicacy unsurpassed by any works of art. We have more than a dozen ingenuous figures of the Mother and Child, ideal groups that are admirably painted and are charming representations of maternal affection. Space



Fig. 230. — Raphael. Part of the Parnassus group, Sappho, Ariosto, Petrarch and the painter himself. VATICAN.

does not permit a description of all of them, and although they have been vulgarized by countless photographs and chromos, even in these we find something of their value and idealism. Most of them were executed either for the great families of the city or for the communities in the neighborhood. The so-called Madonna of the Gran Duca, which he painted for the Medici family, is still in the Pitti Palace (fig. 228), the others are now scattered in the various museums of Europe. Only one of these was brought to America, this is the Madonna in the Thompson Collection. Others are in Munich, Petrograd, Madrid and the Louvre. The Colonna Madonna is in Berlin, and the beautiful Madonna del Giardino, at Vienna. Sometimes we find the Virgin and Child accompanied by two saints after the manner of Perugino. "After having executed these works," writes Vasari, "and having arranged his affairs, Raphael returned to Perugia were he painted a Madonna with John the Baptist and St. Nicholas in the Ansidei Chapel in the church of S. Fiorenzo." This picture was purchased from the Duke of Marlborough by Pierpont Morgan and now is at New York."

In the preceding chapter we have already noted that in 1508 Raphael came upon Bramante's recommendation to Rome, where he was to remain the rest of his life. He was brought there to collaborate in the decoration of the apartments which Julius II was preparing for his own personal use. It has been stated that this Pope did not wish to occupy for a single day the halls which had been decorated by his old enemy, the second Borgia, Alexander VI, but we know that he lived there for four years, although he soon began to make arrangements for the apartments on the floor above, where Nicholas V and Sixtus IV had their quarters. The suite now called the Stanze of Raphael consists of three rooms of somewhat irregular form but approximately square. On two sides are



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Fig. 231. — Raphael. The papal guard. Detail of the Mass of Bolsena.
(Raphael's Stanze.) VATICAN.

windows, and there are doors in the intervening walls, so they are not very symmetrical. They are covered by rather low groined vaults and the lighting is not very good for the decorations; coming from various directions, the light sometimes makes it difficult to properly appreciate the paintings (fig. 229). The decorations were begun by several artists. Julius II was already an old man, and he wished to see the work completed as soon as possible. In 1508 Luca Signorelli, Pramantino, Pinturicchio, Perugino, Guardi, Lorenzo Lotto and a Flemish painter, as well as Il Sodoma and Raphael, all were taking a part in the work, but the two last were the only ones who remained. It was not long before the remarkable value of Raphael's work was recognized which resulted in the removal of most of what the others had done to make room for his paintings.

In the first room, that of the Segnatura, we find the two great allegories called the School of Athens and the Disputa, or Glorification of the Christian Faith. In the lunettes over the windows are the Parnassus and the Jurisprudence. The idea was to present in a single composition Philosophy, Theology,



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Figs. 232 and 233. — Raphael. Venus and Jupiter. The Chariot of Venus. *Frescos in the Farnesina.*

Science and the Arts, all under the supreme protection of the Church. The School of Athens is a large group of the ancient philosophers beneath the Roman vaults of a large stately building. In the centre are Plato and Aristotle; one is an older man holding a book, while the other is a proud figure in a blue mantle with a book against his knee. (Plate XIII.) On the left is another group of philosophers, among them Socrates, whose head has been copied from an antique gem. He emphasizes his syllogisms with a gesture. Lower down another old man, Pythagoras perhaps, writes numerals upon a tablet, while to the right some mathematician, Archimedes or Euclid, explains a figure which he is laying out with compasses. At one side of this group are Raphael and Sodoma taking part in a discussion. The other personages are not completely identified; the king with a sphere is thought to be Ptolemy, and the figure stretched out on the steps in the middle may be Diogenes. The arrangement of the composition is most admirable. But in this panorama of human speculation is no peace; the personages are all seeking something. Only the old Plato affects a majestic calm as he points with his finger to the heavens above.

The answer is found on the panel opposite, where we see the Church Militant and Triumphant. Over the rainbow is the Father surrounded by his angels and below him, Jesus with the Mother and the Precursor. Then we see the twelve just men, Peter, David, St. Lawrence, Adam, Paul, etc., who have a first place in the Celestial Kingdom. From this group descends the Holy Spirit and on earth another group of various figures contemplates and glorifies the Host set above a small altar bearing the initials of Julius II. Here, too, we are unable to identify all the personages; at the four corners of the altar are the four Doctors of the Western Church, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory I and Jerome. Beside the last is Gregory the Great, and close by are Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscan Bonaventura, Dante with his laurel crown, possibly Fra Angelico and, most astounding of all, Savonarola who a few years before had been burned



Raphael. Detail of the School of Athens. Plato and Aristotle.
(Stanza della Segnatura. Raphael's Stanze.) VATICAN.

as a heretic. They all seem to be in ecstasy, filled with a humble faith in the humanity of Christ which is glorified by the Host and the close relation between the Church on earth and the celestial cohort in the heavens. From the Holy Spirit to the Host upon the altar is but a short space which may be easily crossed by faith.



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 234.—Raphael. Adam and Eve. Detail of one of the vaults. VATICAN.

This unity and peace being established in the world, the Church is the patron of the arts and sciences. On the other two walls we see the benign protection dispensed by the Church to the most lofty activities of mankind. On one side is the Parnassus, a charming group of Muses about Apollo who plays the violin. They are in a glade where gushes the fountain of inspiration. The great poets, too, are admitted to this throng; high spirited Sappho is in the foreground, then Dante, Ariosto and Petrarch, who are received among the ancients as were Raphael and Il Sodoma in the School of Athens (fig. 230). The two frescoes opposite, beside the window, represent Justinian promulgating his Code and Gregory IX giving the Decretals to a jurist. We cannot but admire the power of Rome which, after a pontificate like that of the second Borgia, had the spiritual resource to conceive and realize an artistic composition of such greatness.

From this room we pass to the Stanza d'Eliodoro, so called because one of its walls illustrates the punishment of the sacrilegious general of the King of Syria who attempted to steal the treasures of the Temple at Jerusalem. In the background is the high priest, Onias, praying at the altar. In front, on the right, Heliodorus is struck down by the heavenly horseman and his two attendants with swords, while on the ground lie the golden vessels and other booty. As we read in the Book of Maccabees, so here we see the Lord protecting the sacred place and destroying those who would violate it. To the left a group of women representing the Christian people look upon the punishment, while the Pope on his throne calmly turns his face away confident of the power which he represents and which will cast down those who attempt to invade his temple with force.

The lunette over the window was also decorated during Julius' pontificate. Here is the miracle of Bolsena. This was a very old occurrence, but a vivid recollection remained of it at Rome. In the Thirteenth Century a priest, while celebrating mass in the church of Bolsena, felt doubts of the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. But as he broke the bread, drops of blood



Fig. 235. — Raphael. Portrait of a violinist. *(Accademia di S. Luca.)*

fell from it. Raphael represents the prodigy with extraordinary dignity; the window forms a sort of stage approached by steps, and above it we see the priest of Bolsena celebrating mass with Julius II kneeling in attendance. Behind the latter is his suite and below, a group of Swiss guards in variegated garments of red and green (fig. 231). It cannot be denied that these compositions, beginning with the School of Athens, follow a certain logical order. We have the unrest of those who sought the truth from sources not of divine revelation, the triumph of the living God in the consecrated Host, the peace of the Church protecting the arts and sciences, the chastisement of her persecutors, like Heliodorus, and the miracle for those who doubt the dogmas of the Faith.

Here the cycle really ends, and at this point also Julius II died in 1514. His successor, Leo X, who was the son of Lorenzo de Medici, was disposed to go on with the work, so Raphael continued the decoration of this room. Extensively aided by his pupils, he also decorated the third apartment called the Stanza dell'Incendio. On one of the two walls of the Stanza d'Eliodoro which still remained, he represented Attila turning back from the gates of Rome at the sight of St. Peter and St. Paul who came to the defence of the city. The Pope comes out mounted upon his white mule to dissuade the invader; indeed, it is the corpulent figure of Leo X himself. The other picture, over the window, portrays the divine protection enjoyed by the pontificate. Its symbol is the miraculous liberation of St. Peter from prison as described in the Acts of the Apostles. In both we find the predominating idea to be the triumph of the papacy over its enemies and its glorification. The theme has neither the philosophy nor the spirituality to be seen in the frescoes of the Segnatura.

The third room may not have been painted by Raphael himself, and, as we have already noted, he only provided the sketches which his pupils worked out. The room takes its name from the fresco representing the Conflagration in the Borgo, miraculously extinguished by the blessing of the Pope. Not only are the pontiffs protected by the powers of Heaven, but they, too, can work miracles. The composition has not the admirable proportion seen in the other rooms we have just described; the figures are well drawn. Tall maidens like canephores bring water to extinguish the fire; supplicating matrons like Niobe raise their arms to heaven; and one man carrying another upon his back reminds us of Virgil's story of Aeneas rescuing his aged father, Anchises, from burning Troy.



Fig. 236. — Raphael. Portrait of a Cardinal. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

All these compositions in the Stanze of Raphael have for centuries served as models for historical paintings, for they illustrate the principles of the academic style both by their good proportion and equilibrium. But Raphael, like Mozart whom he resembles in many other respects, while he produced works of a sort that are exceedingly judicious, also composed scenes filled with inspiration. In these ably drawn groups will appear a figure which might have descended from Heaven to enrich the earth with a new and immortal form. In the well balanced scene of the Glorification of the Christian Faith, or Disputa, an exquisitely beautiful youth points to the Host with an ineffable smile worthy of one of Leonardo's personages. In the School of Athens another similar youth with white garments is an apparition of placid beauty among the philosophers disturbed by the problems of the universe. In the Parnassus, the white Muse at the side of Apollo is another worthy of a place among the demigods. Sappho, too, is a beautiful creation, an imperishable type of feminine loveliness.

Nevertheless, Raphael's historical paintings have been the cause of much vulgar and academic imitation in later times. For this reason, when the reaction finally came against this artificial and academic school of art with its utter lack of spontaneity, the revolutionists called themself Preraphaelites and sought their inspiration in the predecessors of Raphael, particularly Botticelli and Fra Angelico. But Raphael himself was entirely innocent of the epidemic of bad painting which was in imitation of these frescoes, especially in France. To make use of his name to combat his imitators is both foolish and unjust.

While Raphael was painting these apartments under the patronage of Julius II and Leo X, he also found time to execute some easel-pictures, Madonnas of great beauty. One which he painted for the church of S. Maria del Popolo has been lost since 1615; another, called the Madonna of Foligno, is still in the Vatican Gallery; while the Madonna del Pesce at Madrid was ordered as a testimony to a miraculous cure. The Sistine Madonna at Dresden is a marvelously beautiful Virgin between two curtains and at her feet are Pope Sixtus and St. Barbara. Two cherubs lean upon the frame at the bottom. It is an academic work, it is true, but what could be more charming? Succeeding generations have never wearied of their admiration for this gentle figure. Like Leonardo's Last Supper, even its chromo reproductions preserve something of the spirituality of the original.

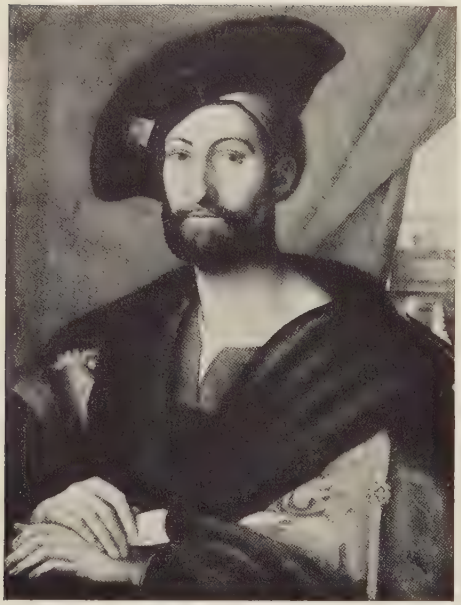


Fig. 237.—Raphael. Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici.

This is the real Raphael, the painter of the stanze and the Madonnas, whom even we moderns still hold in the highest estimation. But during the last years of his life his emotions led him to attempt to excel his previous work in a style to which he was little suited. He sometimes imitated the grand manner of Michelangelo, but the result was somewhat theatrical. This is the case with the celebrated Bearing of the Cross, now at Madrid, and it is true to some extent of the Transfiguration, the picture he was working on at the time of his death. But for all that, what an inspiration it still holds for us! Above is Christ radiant among the clouds and in the presence of Moses, Elias, Peter and John. Beneath, the other apostles look upward in wonder though they cannot see the apotheosis of our Lord. One possessed of a devil is just recovering his right mind, while his mother, a vigorous Roman matron with heavy tresses of hair, points to the miracle. (Plate XIV and fig. 241.)

From this period of Raphael's maturity also date the decorations of the Farnesina executed for Agostino Chigi. We recall that Il Sodoma had already done some work on this villa. In the loggia, or portico, opening on the garden Raphael painted a fresco of Galatea fleeing in her shell from Polyphemus as described in the verses of Politian, and above in the vault, scenes from the myth of Cupid and Psyche (figs. 232 and 233). In the Vatican Raphael also decorated the galleries on the court of S. Damaso which had been constructed by Bramante, as we have noted in the preceding chapter (fig. 191). Raphael and his pupils covered the walls and vaults with delicate arabesques, birds and



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Fig. 238.—Raphael. Portrait of Castiglione. *(Louvre.)*



Fig. 239. — Raphael. Portrait of himself. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 240. — Raphael. Portrait of La Fornarina. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

flowers in a new decorative style which was almost worthy of the great days of classical art.

An important series of portraits also belongs to the same period. That of Julius II and the one of Leo X with two cardinals are in Florence; there is the one of a cardinal in the Prado at Madrid, a rather drawn face of much delicacy with its white forehead and thin lips. Then we have the portrait of his friend Baldassare Castiglione, the author of the Cortigiano, a true manual of gallantry of the Italian Renaissance (fig. 238), and one of his mistress, the famous Fornarina, of which he painted several copies (fig. 240). Last of all there is the marvelous Violinist in the gallery of S. Luca at Rome (fig. 235), as well as the portrait of himself, a pale thin face (fig. 239) with an almost feminine delicacy. In this last we discern the sensitive spirit. Although he did not torment himself in his work, he produced such a large quantity that it would have been sufficient to utterly weary a man of much greater strength. He died on Good Friday, the anniversary of his birth, at the early age of thirty-six years and was buried in the Pantheon, the ancient Roman building which had been transformed into a Christian church. A few years ago the tomb was opened in order to restore the inscription, and his bones were as delicate as those of a child.

His pupils followed in his footsteps, but without either the genius or good taste of the master. Even when they worked at his side and developed his own themes, there was a vast difference in the coloring of the portion executed by Raphael and that painted by his pupils. That which seems noble and brilliant at his hands is transformed into something dry and lacking in feeling when it is the work of Giulio Romano, the unfortunate Penni or even Giovanni da Udine or



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 241. — Raphael. Detail of the Transfiguration.
(Vatican Gallery.)

Perino del Vaga. In but one respect were these last two the worthy successors of Raphael, in stucco work and fanciful ornamentation of the sort which the master planned for the loggie of the court of S. Damaso. Giovanni da Udine decorated another story lying on the same court in a manner at once original and graceful. Perino also ornamented with the same motives the stair way of the Palazzo Doria at Genoa; it is a symphony of color, for the delicate lines and the panels fill the vault with a luminous covering of figures and flowers. But when they attempt something more ambitious as Giulio Romano did in the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua, they deserve all the contempt with which they were regarded by Michelangelo's associates who considered as "an opprobrium unworthy of a great master" the room of the Conflagration of the Borgo in the Vatican. This was the appartment which was entirely decorated by Raphael's pupils.

Rome learned magnificence, even in painting, from Michelangelo who was neither a painter nor desirous of being one. Only once, the time when he escaped from Rome after a quarrel with the Pope and passed some months in Florence, did he begin some paintings in the Palace of the Signoria, and these were never completed. After that he paid no attention to painting until he was compelled to undertake the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. Only one painter seems to have influenced his spirit, and that was the restless Luca Signorelli. As so often occurs in history, the only record we have of their friendly relations is the unpleasant circumstance of a law-suit which Michelangelo instituted against Signorelli to recover some money he had loaned him. Nevertheless, Signorelli was the precursor of Michelangelo in painting, and we must at least mention his name before passing on to a discussion of the Sistine Chapel even



Raphael. The Transfiguration. *(Vatican Gallery.)*



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Figs. 242 and 243. — Luca Signorelli. Details of the chapel of Orvieto.
Portion of the Resurrection of the Dead and the picture of the Antichrist.

in so general a survey as this. Signorelli was from Cortona on the border of Tuscany, so his art belongs to Florence. He went to Monte Oliveto before Il Sodoma, but his best work is found in Orvieto in the chapel of the cathedral which Fra Angelico began and never completed. On the walls of this chapel we find all the genius of Signorelli. There is fury and trembling, tormented and contorted figures closely intermingled in frenzy. His subjects, almost all apocalyptic, are just those which would inspire a nature like his. We see the Last Days of the Mundane Dispensation, the Pomp and Fall of Antichrist, the Resurrection of the Dead and the Destruction of the Reprobate. The atmosphere is usually one of luminous gray from which the figures stand out sharply. The drawing is masterly, and the groups are full of life. Signorelli could set a multitude in motion with a force which, though it was somewhat neurotic, was still superior to anything that had been done down to his time (figs. 242 and 243).

In his small easel-pictures Signorelli was also able to conceive and execute his themes in a grand manner and without offending the eye by his details. We can readily see that such a painter would attract the interest of a man like Michelangelo and that the latter would not forget him when he came to paint subjects of a similar character on the walls of the Sistine Chapel. This is very evident when we compare the backgrounds of some of the pictures of both painters (figs. 244 and 245) in which we find a similar subject and a landscape of rocks. The youthful John the Baptist taking off his sandal in Signorelli's picture is substituted in Michelangelo's work by a group of youths such as we find with the Virgin and Child in another painting of Signorelli at Florence.

It is true that in Michelangelo's Holy Family there is a familiarity and af-



Fig. 244. — Signorelli. Madonna and Child with John the Baptist. *(Berlin Museum.)*

fection which we do not find in Signorelli's work; nevertheless it is interesting to note that the only authentic easel-picture we have by Michelangelo reminds us so strongly of Signorelli. While Raphael was decorating the apartments of Julius II, Michelangelo, shut up in another part of the Vatican, was working like a Titan on the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. "It was in the year 1508," according to Vasari, "that Bramante, the friend and relative of Raphael of Urbino, seeing that the Pope favored Michelangelo, persuaded his Holiness that he should in memory of his uncle Sixtus IV paint the vault of the chapel which he had constructed in the palace... But Michelangelo, considering the work great and difficult and taking into account the little practise he had in color, sought every excuse imaginable to avoid the task and proposed that Raphael should do the work. But the more excuses Michelangelo made, the more the desire of the Pope increased." Vasari goes on to say that, instigated by Bramante, Julius II was on the point of becoming much irritated with Michelangelo when the latter resigned himself to his fate and undertook the work. The Sistine Chapel is a large rectangular hall 133 feet long and 45 feet wide (fig. 246). It had been built during the previous century, and the predecessors of Julius II had already taken much interest in decorating it. The chancel and the tribune for the choir still have the handsome Fifteenth Century screens and balustrades with which we are already familiar. The walls, too, are decorated with frescoes of the Quattrocento up as far as the springers of the vault. Now the question was how to treat the great barrel-vault which was some eighty feet high and broken by lunettes.

Michelangelo divided the vast surface artificially by means of arches and cornices in perspective rising from the walls. These arches and the two cornices divide the ceiling into sections containing the various compositions. In the central spaces are scenes taken from early days of the world. Nothing could be more appropriate to decorate



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Fig. 245. — Michelangelo. Holy Family. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Michelangelo. Sketch for the Sistine Chapel. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 246. — The Sistine Chapel. VATICAN.

the great vault than the story of the Patriarchs. First we see the Creation, God separating light from darkness, putting life into Adam, drawing the woman from Adam's side as he sleeps. (Plate XVI and fig. 247). The scenes of the first sin and the expulsion from Paradise follow; then come the Flood and Noah's drunkenness. These panels are divided from one another by the arches, but the architectural features are enlivened by the nude figures of pensive youths who represent mankind contemplating the course of history (figs. 248 to 251). Lower, between the lunettes of the arches are prophets and sibyls alternating with one another. These symbolize those great men and women who foresaw the supreme event, the redemption of the world from sin. Each of these is a colossal figure, such as only Michelangelo could imagine, seated on either side of the vault. Isaiah, still a young man, points to his head with one hand and near by the Cumean Sibyl, an old woman, reads from a great book which rests upon her lap. Jeremiah, with bowed head resting on his hand, appears plunged in bitter reflection, while Daniel compares the Scriptures and foresees the coming of the Messiah (fig. 252), Another gigantic form is that of the young Delphic Sibyl who also pensively reads the future in an open scroll.

In the remaining spaces on either side of the windows Michelangelo painted other Biblical scenes, a whole world of tragic personages, Minor Prophets, Jewish heroes, all inspired of God.

Four weary years the artist spent in this hall, often obliged to do his work over again owing to his lack of experience in the art of fresco-painting. He was



Fig. 247. — Michelangelo. Creation of man. Sistine chapel. VATICAN.

not familiar with the Roman lime and plaster, and he had already completed a portion of the vault when the frescoes began to be covered with a salty coating and it became necessary to set up the scaffolding again. Only a few intimate friends were permitted to view the progress of the work. The Pope, "who was fretful and impatient," often came to see with his own eyes how it was coming on. It was on account of this chapel that the latter deferred the work on his own tomb which Michelangelo had already commenced and which will be discussed in the next chapter. The bitter experience of the artist is reflected in the sincerity and profound melancholy which predominates in this series of frescoes. Not only had he the difficulties of his art to contend with, but also material resources were sometimes lacking, as the Pope was at war with the French. Twice he was obliged to suspend work, and on one such occasion he went to Rome to complain to the Pope. Vasari says that in his old age he still suffered from the effects of the position he was obliged to assume while painting the flat top of the vault. Michelangelo himself in one of his sonnets recalls the painful task:

My beard turns up to heaven; my nape falls in,
Fixed on my spine; my breast-bone visibly
Grows like a harp: a rich embroidery
Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin.

He told Giovanni da Pistoia, the friend to whom he dedicated the sonnet, that he must defend his painting and the honor of his name as he himself was not a painter. But the vault of the Sistine Chapel needs no apologist; Rome and all the world have unanimously acclaimed the work one of the greatest triumphs of mankind.

The chapel was opened on All Saints Day, 1512, on which Julius II wished to celebrate a pontifical mass there. Vasari records some interesting stories of conversations between Michelangelo and the terrible Pope after its inauguration. The latter wanted it to be enriched still more with bright colors and touches of gold, to which the artist replied that the patriarchs and prophets portrayed there were not rich but had become holy men because they despised wealth.



Figs. 248, 249, 250 and 251. — Michelangelo. Four of the youths who symbolize mankind. *(Vault of the Sistine Chapel.)*

More than twenty years later Michelangelo again resumed his work in the Sistine Chapel where, at the command of a Pope of the Farnese family, he decorated the great altar-wall where Perugino had already painted scenes from the life of Moses. These small compositions seemed like miniatures beside the great figures on the vault. Here Michelangelo had portrayed the beginnings of mankind, so on this wall he resolved to present the final act of the great human



Fig. 252. — Michelangelo. Isaiah and Daniel. *(Sistine Chapel.)* VATICAN.

tragedy, the Last Judgment. On this he worked six years and completed it in 1541. The composition is a magnificent conception. Above, in the centre, the Saviour, somewhat after the manner of the ancient Jupiter, appears in his might raising his hand to judge the unrighteous who are grouped in clusters much as Dante imagined them. Colossal figures imploring grace, they are dismayed by that gesture of Divine majesty (fig. 253). Below, Charon ferries a group of the damned over the dark stream. Beside Christ is the Virgin in an attitude of supplication, and upon her the Titans near by fix their gaze. Only she can intercede for them with the Lord of Heaven and Earth. Above, groups of angels bear the symbols of the Passion which they present to the Saviour, as though reminding Him that even His great sacrifice had not been sufficient to redeem these incorrigible sinners.

From the first the Last Judgment did not enjoy the unanimous success which had met with the paintings of the vault of the Sistine Chapel. From Venice Aretino wrote to Michelangelo in terms that are almost insulting. "I write, it is true, the most shameless and immodest things, but in veiled and decent words; while you treat so lofty a religious subject without any clothing whatever. Saints and angels appear like nude human beings." Thus Aretino, and it is probable that similar protests from others led the artist to cover some of the figures with mantels or bits of clouds, such as that of Jesus and perhaps even the Virgin. The latter seems to have been originally drawn in such a manner as to be represented without drapery.

Today Michelangelo's Last Judgment is badly spoiled by the smoke of centuries, and the colors are darkened. On the vault the color has endured much better and these frescoes now attract the attention of the beholder. The



Michelangelo. Details of the vault of the Sistine Chapel. ROME.
A. The Fourth Day of the Creation. — B. Adam receiving life from the finger of God.

gigantic figures of the composition are not as sympathetic as those of the vault. The latter are filled with the most lofty sentiment and are more pleasing; also they have much more variety. In the Last Judgment but one note is struck, that of the magnified human body. In his last years the sculptor thought of little else than the human form, the perfect machine of muscles, bones and tendons. Every element is excessively developed, and as in the frieze of Pergamum the gigantic figures of the Last Judgment are abstract beings which have no place in actual life.



Fig. 253. — Michelangelo. Christ in the Last Judgment. *(Sistine Chapel.)*

In spite of widely differing opinions, the Last Judgment and the vault of the Sistine Chapel constituted the point of departure of a school of painters who were to be preoccupied with the same human note.

The same things which we have already noted of the cult of Raphael may be equally well repeated here. Michelangelo, and he alone, was responsible for his own work, and it is also in the field of painting that the Sistine Chapel and the Last Judgment constitute the culminating point of the efforts of a number of generations of artists.

He was, however, more fortunate in his pupils than was Raphael. His friend and confidant, Sebastiano del Piombo, was a good artist in every respect. Vasari himself, Domenichino and the famous Caravaggio who was Ribera's master, all of whom we shall treat in our discussion of the origin of baroque art, owe something to Michelangelo. The reason for this superiority rests in the fact that he worked alone; he did not educate his pupils by having them do part of his work as did Raphael. The artists who came into Michelangelo's orbit were obliged to form a personality of their own; the master was to them the supreme model, and not a painter whom they slavishly imitated.



Fig. 254.— Andrea del Sarto. Portrait of himself. *(National Gallery.)*



Fig. 255. — Andrea del Sarto. Portrait of his wife. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

While the Roman painters remained definitely committed to this academic and theatrical style, entirely preoccupied with the magnificent, there were at Florence and Parma a number of artists in whose delicate work we find a reaction against the Roman school. One of these was a Tuscan, Andrea del Sarto, who carried on the spirit of Florentine art unaffected by the Roman school. He was the pupil of a certain Piero di Cosimo who in turn had derived his inspiration from Botticelli and Verrocchio. The son of a tailor, Andrea d'Angelo di Francesca, was known all his life as del Sarto (fig. 254). He began his career on the frescoes of the Carmelite convent and afterward painted a large number of beautiful Madonnas which are more delicate and Florentine in type than those of Raphael. His colors are sfumato but without mannerism. His work has a delicacy of feeling often productive of the utmost charm. He always followed the same feminine type, a rather popular one, which was that of his own wife (figures 255 and 256), Lucrezia, in almost every feminine figure he painted.

Vasari, who was his contemporary, recounts the life of the artist at great length. He appreciates the value of his work and relates in a somewhat confused manner a number of biographical details which he considered important. Andrea del Sarto, according to him, would have been the foremost painter of his period if he had not displayed a certain timidity of spirit which caused him to lack the magnificence of other painters. By these the writer evidently refers to Michelangelo and his pupils. Vasari also expresses his regret that Andrea did not remain long enough in Rome to learn the style of Michelangelo. To Vasari, Rome in the middle of the Sixteenth Century was the greatest school of art. But we must not place too much dependence upon poor Vasari, who has been

so badly treated by the Preraphaelites and other modern critics who cannot forgive his friendship for Michelangelo. The same writer also tells us of Andrea del Sarto's journey to France, the reception he received from Francis I, and of his return, made homesick by the letters of his wife. We learn further of how on his arrival in Florence he squandered the money entrusted to him by the King of France.



Fig. 256. — Andrea del Sarto. Virgin and Child. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

The painter's wife seems to have been a very modern type, the typical wife of an artist, capricious and hard to please. She was able to dominate her husband further as his favorite model. Indeed, this constant repetition is rather wearisome, but on the other hand the coloring is very beautiful; the folds of the drapery are gracefully combined and the composition of his groups is most charming. When he set his figures in a landscape, we see in the surroundings the ineffable tenderness which we find in Raphael. In the Prado at Madrid is a group of the Virgin and saints at the foot of a hill on the top of which is a village. It is twilight and one looks at the sky to see the stars which are about to come out. He is a marvelous colorist who came too late; even Raphael had abandoned his serenity of manner.

Truly, he was the last Florentine painter. He lived all his life in Florence and other parts of Tuscany except for his sojourn in France. As we see him working in the monastery of Vallombrosa or the neighboring convents, we seem to behold an artist of the quattrocento. His frescoes in the monasteries of Florence constitute a long series which captivates the mind of the beholder. It is as though the old spirit of the Florentine fresco-painters had again come to life filled with the optimism of the Sixteenth Century. But Andrea del Sarto was the last one. Florence, too, became Roman, and by the end of the century the fatherland itself was no longer the place for a truly Florentine spirit.



Fig. 257.—Correggio. Noli me tangere. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

We have proposed in this chapter to make at least a brief survey of the Italian painters of the Sixteenth Century with the exception of those of Venice to whom another chapter will be devoted. Space does not permit the mention of many artists of the local schools, but we must at least refer to one talented painter at Parma whose art is full of delicacy and charm. This was Antonio Allegri, better known as Correggio after the town in which he was born. Both in his activity and the briefness of his career he may be compared with Raphael. He was the great painter of children. Unlike Michelangelo, who transformed his men into giants, Correggio took delight in the rounded forms of his angels and was especially acute in catching the personality of little children. Even in his men and women there is something childlike, and he even went so far as to paint John the Baptist as an androgynous being in his large picture of the Madonna and saints in the Parma Gallery. He was charmed by the soft glowing flesh of children and women. Just as Rubens affects lax figures, Correggio, on the contrary, accentuates curves, making them like those of a child and without defining the muscles, bones and sinews. We might say that his ideal figure is not really that of a child, but rather that of the feminine which exists in the child.

Almost at the very time when Michelangelo at Rome was exaggerating the human form and transforming saints and angels into giants, this delicate painter at Parma was doing the opposite. He would soften the curves of the human body and turn his saints and angels into soft rosy figures. Their hands and feet are most charming; in all his work we find a strange abandon. It is not the conscious and almost tragic will of Titian and Giorgione, but rather an admiring and vague desire which would be satisfied almost by touch.

His coloring is admirable. When Titian saw his frescoes at Parma he is said to have remarked: "If I were not Titian, I would want to be Correggio." Velasquez on his second journey to Italy stopped a number of weeks in Parma and secured for Philip IV a small picture by Correggio, and it is probable that it was through Velasquez that we have today in the Prado at Madrid two paint-



Figs. 258 and 259. — Correggio. Two angels. Details of the dome of the Cathedral. PARMA.

ings by the same artist. They might have been painted with fragrant essences. The landscape of the *Noli me tangere* in the Prado (fig. 257) is one of marvelous rainbow tones. The fair Magdalene, dressed in yellow brocade, is on her knees before the youthful gardener in whom there is also a childlike delicacy. Correggio died in 1534 while he was still a young man. As he was not yet forty, the extent of his works is somewhat limited; still he had found time to execute the rather ambitious decoration of the dome of the cathedral of Parma and a number of other paintings in the same church, such as the singular Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 260). In the dome he portrayed the Ascension, and the theme could hardly have been rendered with more originality. The hemispherical surface is transformed into a great choir of angels apparently rising as far as the eye can reach (figs. 258 and 259). We see thousands of childrens' forms intermingled, becoming ever smaller as they recede in the distance. Above are Jesus and Mary, who are to be distinguished by little more than their white robes. The dome at Parma was the model of a long series of baroque decorations in which the illusion of a great open space is attempted. In his pictures which are not of a religious character we note a pronounced appeal to the senses. These have been very highly esteemed, and ever since the Sixteenth Century there has been much rivalry in acquiring them; indeed, they have even been cut up and destroyed. The Danae in the Borghese Gallery, the Antiope in the Louvre, the Ganymede, and the Io, formerly in Vienna and now recovered by Italy, are all famous (fig. 261). They have had a more varied history than almost any works of art and have always been of unusual interest to the critics because of their singular esthetic qualities.

Here we will end our brief survey of Sixteenth-century Italian painting. We



Fig. 260. — Correggio. Coronation of the Virgin. *(Museum of Parma.)*

have been obliged to pass over famous names without even mentioning them, and could devote only a few paragraphs to such outstanding figures as Raphael, Leonardo and Correggio. It may be felt that there is a lack of proper proportion between the amount of space dedicated to the great masters and that devoted to the more primitive ones or the baroque. But in addition to the difficulty of deciding just how much space to apportion to each one, it must be remembered that this is after all a very general work and it is necessary to present to the reader all the important problems which have arisen in the history of art.

In the field of painting we should include miniatures and ceramic art. By the Sixteenth-century printing had become a great industry and the illuminated manuscripts became rarer and began to disappear. Nevertheless the art was not entirely abandoned in favor of printing, though the latter, of course, put books into the hands of a much larger number of people. The old manuscript book with its miniatures would be regarded by its possessor in a way that he would never feel about a printed book. Men like the Duke of Urbino and the Sforzas continued to have miniatures painted for their favorite books. Of the former it is well known that he boasted that he did not have a single printed book in his library. One of his most interesting manuscripts, now in the Vatican Library, is the Bestiary with illustrations on the margins which are ascribed to Raphael (fig. 262). Miniatures were also required for the great antiphonies and other books for the church choirs which the printing-presses were as yet unable to produce. These large volumes are sometimes splendidly illustrated. Perhaps the last great miniaturist of Europe was the famous Giulio Clovio who illustrated



Angelo Bronzini. Eleanor of Toledo, duchess of Tuscany. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

books for Charles V and who was responsible for the coming of El Greco to Spain.

During this period the press also produced many exquisite books. This was the great century of printing, especially in Italy. These were the great days of the Venetian and Paduan printers who were not only artists but scholars as well. They always sought the purest texts which gave their books a decided advantage over the manuscripts, for the latter were full of errors which had escaped the copyist. The title-page was usually adorned with a border cut in box-wood, and the same was true of the headings of the chapters. A new art had begun which was destined to achieve great triumphs, so we can hardly do less than note its progress in this work.



Fig. 261. — Correggio. Io.

Another art connected with painting is that of ceramics, which was an important one in Italy during the Sixteenth Century. The principal potteries were in the cities along the Adriatic. Rome produced very little, and the Florentines imitated the pottery of Valencia, Spain. But at Rimini, Urbino, Forli, Cesena and especially at Faenza, the potteries produced fountains and large plates decorated with colored figures in imitation of the scenes of Raphael's paintings and those of his pupils. The most typical ware of the Italian Sixteenth-century is that of Faenza although it has no very great artistic value. It was useless to attempt on plates and with glazes the effects produced by monumental painting. We find this work abounding in yellows and blues and rather lacking in clear reds, so the color scale is somewhat monotonous. Only occasionally is a truly decorative effect achieved. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Sixteenth Century workers in ivory and enamel, it is already foreshadowed that these arts are doomed to be supplanted by the products of the industrialism of a later period.

Summary. — Rome is the centre of Italian painting in the Sixteenth Century, with the exception of that of the Venetian school which developed independently. The artists were still largely Florentines and Umbrians, but men who worked outside of their native provinces. This was the case with Leonardo who went to Milan and spent a good part of his life at the court of Ludovico

Sforza. He was always planning new undertakings. At Milan he painted the famous Last Supper and the Virgin of the Rocks. Upon his return to Florence he painted the portrait of the Gioconda. He then went to Rome where in his incessant desire to perfect his technique he completed none of the pictures of the last period of his life. His Milanese pupils were his successors, particularly Luini who painted the frescoes of Saronno and many other beautiful works, also Il Sodoma. The latter came to Tuscany from Lombardy and settled in Siena where he combined the vigor of his native province with the technique learned from Leonardo. Later he was brought to Rome by Agostino Chigi, the papal banker, and collaborated with Raphael in the decoration of the palace now called the Farnesina. He also did some work in the Vatican. The frescos of the latter palace, however, are mainly the work of Raphael who continued them at the order of Julius II. Raphael was born in Urbino. He acquired something of the spirit of Leonardo through the teaching of a Bolognese painter named Francia. He soon entered Perugino's school, and at the age of twenty-five he settled in Florence. From this period of his early life we have a series of masterpieces, largely Madonnas and saints. At Rome he directed the decoration of some of the apartments in the Vatican, painted a number of marvelous portraits and executed two large pictures called the Bearing of the Cross and the Transfiguration, on which he was at work when he died. His pupils were Giulio Romano, Penni, Perino del Vaga and a number of others who followed Raphael's style but lacked the exquisite grace of the master. While Raphael was decorating these apartments, Michelangelo, much against his will, was painting the vault of the Sistine Chapel. The latter did not consider himself a painter; in addition to the frescos of the Sistine Chapel we know only of one easel-painting, now in the Uffizi, and the frescos he began with Leonardo in the Palace of the Signoria at Florence. Many years later he also painted his famous Last Judgment on the rear wall of the Sistine Chapel, where we find his exaggerated manner still more accentuated. Here the human body is magnified and strained and the muscles overdeveloped. His pupils imitated his style but did not have the mannerisms seen in Raphael's school. In the meantime we find at Florence and Parma the delicate paintings of Andrea del Sarto and Correggio. The latter lays particular stress upon childlike beauty. During the Sixteenth Century Italy also produced a number of interesting miniatures, particularly in the antiphonies and other books used in the choirs of the churches. The potteries of Faenza and Urbino turned out a ware that is very distinctive. Both the forms and colors of this work are in imitation of the paintings of Raphael and his pupils.

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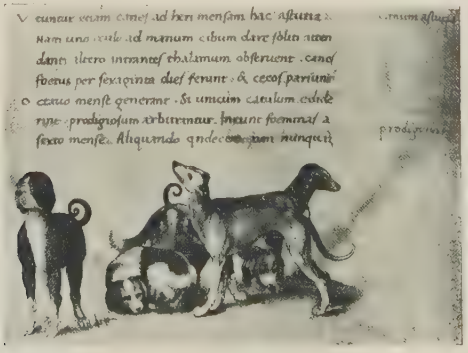


Fig. 262. — Raphael. Miniature of the Bestiary of the Duke of Urbino. *(Vatican Library.)*



Fig. 263. – Michelangelo. Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths. *(Galleria Buonarroti.)* Florence.

CHAPTER IX

ITALIAN SCULPTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — MICHELANGELO, THE SCULPTOR. BENVENUTO CELLINI. — GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA.

In the course of the two preceding chapters we have constantly encountered the name of the great genius whose spirit pervaded the art of an entire century. This was Michelangelo. Although he claimed to be only a sculptor, he successfully directed the erection of the great church of St. Peter's; and though he protested that he was not a painter, he it was who painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. No other artist can in any way rival the astounding energy of this man. He had no successors, no one could paint as he did, and yet he created a school in which the master gave lessons to none, while the entire world learned from him.

He signed himself *Michel Angelo, scultore fiorentino,* and indeed, this strange and solitary giant was a Florentine. Between Giotto and Michelangelo intervened two centuries of delicate Tuscan beauty, of noble and exquisite creations. No one seemed able to break the spell; Masaccio was the only one to



Fig. 264.—Michelangelo. Pietà. *St. Peter's.* Rome.

see the absolute beauty of the real world, and he died when he had little more than begun his career. Suddenly a Titan appeared in the midst of this Florentine idyl, converting it from a smooth adagio to a tempestuous finale.

We are no longer under any illusions as to the character and genius of Michelangelo; we are well acquainted with both the man and his works. We have the letters which he wrote and received, and nothing is so illustrative of his spirit as this correspondence. Of inflexible character and difficult humor, it was not easy even for his nearest and dearest friends and relatives to avoid irritating him. "You make everybody fear you, even the Pope himself," wrote his most intimate friend, Sebastiano del Piombo. It was useless for Michelangelo to protest and make excuses in reply; his own letters betray him. At times he wrote to his father and brothers in the most affectionate terms, and again, embittered by his sorrows, he would reply to their letters as brusquely as though he had finished with them forever.

He always pursued his way alone throughout the long course of his laborious career. Like Beethoven, he not only had to endure his own afflictions and the griefs of a great artist, but he must also suffer from the mistakes of others and atone for the sins of an entire century. What fault was it of his that Bramante had left the old Basilica of St. Peter's in ruins without definitely working out the plan of the new church? Why should he have been the victim of Popes who, inconstant as they were in their desires, consistently exploited his genius and gave him no rest that they might share in the immortality conferred by his marvelous works? These commissions were more than even he could carry out, and he finally left many of them uncompleted. How often did his heart falter during that difficult time when he was directing the work on St. Peter's! "If one could die of mortification and grief, I would no longer be alive," he writes in one of his letters. And, indeed, we esteem him the more for it; moody as he was, his sorrows and vexations grew out of his consciousness of duty. In an age when everyone was forgetting the real standards of life, he went about in mourning. With a perception more acute than that of his contemporaries, he was well aware of "the blunders and miseries of mankind". From Spoleto he writes:



Fig. 265. — Michelangelo. David. *(Accademia delle Belle Arti.)* Florence.

"Only the birds live according to God's commands," surprised at finding himself again in contact with the simple life, free from human anxieties. "A shepherd's hut of earth and straw... and heaven propitious to his desires," was his earnest wish at that moment.

But his art and his genius compelled him to live among his fellow men. He went through the world filled with exasperation and often offending his as-



Fig. 266. — Michelangelo. A slave.
Intended for the tomb of Julius II.
(Louvre Museum.)

sociates. They tell the story of how one day he met Leonardo on the street and reproached him with his mistakes in a manner that was anything but tactful. Leonardo and Michelangelo, like Goethe and Beethoven, were both too great to understand one another. The Florentine Titan was even more unyielding than Beethoven; he worked in the hard marble quarried in Carrara, but he found it softer than the hearts of the Romans and Florentines of the Sixteenth Century. Indeed, we may say that he was oppressed by the greatness of his genius, like a giant bowed down by the weight of his own spirit. As we follow his career, we, too, feel something of that weariness. The example of his life is a disturbing force; his was a dynamic genius in conflict with itself, and its greatness appals us.

Biographical details are not lacking, but with men of outstanding qualities one would always like to know still more. Most of the material necessary for a criterion has been preserved, such as his sculptures and paintings as well as his correspondence. The last was collected by a nephew who converted his house into a memorial of the artist. We have his verses, too, for in later life Michelangelo turned to poetry. Strictly speaking, there are but two contemporary biographies, that contained in Vasari's Lives and another more important one by Ascanio Condivi from which Vasari copied many passages almost word for word. Condivi's biography was published while the artist was still living. Michelangelo seems to have corrected the text; at any rate he was familiar with it before its publication. Here we have the unvarnished truth, for Condivi, too, was a direct person incapable of either dissimulation or exaggeration. The son of a well-to-do country proprietor, he went to Rome as a youth, where he intended to enter upon an artistic career as a pupil of Michelangelo. The death of his father obliged him to return to the estate

to look after his inheritance, and in the disappointment he suffered at abandoning his chosen vocation, Condivi composed the biography of the master, repeating in it many things he had heard Michelangelo say while at Rome. As we have already noted, Vasari made use of this little book by Condivi, and all the other biographers of the great artist in later times were obliged to seek much of their data at the same source. Indeed, this book may be called the only account at first hand.

Another contemporary book of less importance, but which offers additional information regarding Michelangelo's thoughts, is that published by a discreet Portuguese gentleman, Francesco d'Ollanda. He had come to Rome on a diplomatic mission for King John III of Portugal and for this reason, perhaps, he was admitted to the friendship of Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo. These books, together with the letters, poems and various documents in the archives, enable us to follow the career of the artist with considerable precision.

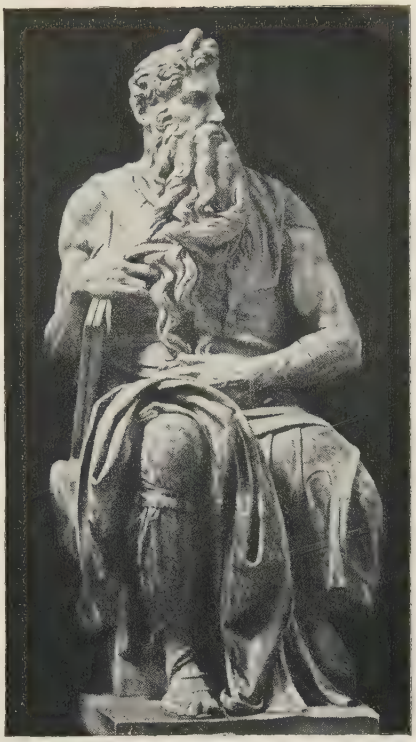


Fig. 267. — Michelangelo. Moses. Tomb of Julius II. *(S. Pietro in Vincoli.)* ROME.

Condivi describes him as a man of medium height, broad shoulders and light in his movements. He had clear eyes and a nose somewhat flattened from a blow received in his youth. His father was resident magistrate at Chiusi in the Casentino, where Michelangelo was born and spent his childhood. The father moved to Florence where the boy was put into the studio of the painter, Ghirlandaio, but his real school was the garden of the Medici which contained a collection of antique marbles and served as a sort of academy for youths with artistic leanings. This garden has been preserved with but few changes; it is near the monastery of S. Marco. Here Lorenzo de' Medici came to chat with the young men who studied the antiques, and Michelangelo soon attracted the notice of the great man. The former had carved the head of a faun, and Lorenzo de' Medici at once remarked the exceptional talent of the fifteen year old boy. He offered his father a post and took the boy himself into his palace, where he was treated like a son. The father was employed in the customs, while Michelangelo spent two years with the Medici. Condivi tells us that Lorenzo would summon him several times a day to show him jewels, medals and carnelians in order to develop his taste and good judgment. At the suggestion of Angelo Poliziano, one of Lorenzos's humanist friends, Michelangelo carved a relief representing the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs which in his old age he still



Fig. 268.—Michelangelo. The Medici Mausoleum.
St. Lorenz. FLORENCE.

regarded with pride. He said that when he looked at it he always regretted that he had not confined his efforts exclusively to sculpture (fig. 263). This marble must have brought back to him his youth and the short but happy days of his apprenticeship with the Medici.

Soon after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent Michelangelo's real life with its tempests and sorrows began. Anticipating the revolution which was to expel the Medici family from the city, he went to Bologna, where he carved an angel which was to complete the *arca* of St. Dominic.

He returned to Florence for a short period and then went to Rome for the first time. During his first sojourn there he worked on the marble group of the Pietà which is now in one of the chapels of St. Peter's (fig. 264). The composition is one of marvelous beauty; indeed, Michelangelo, jealous of his work, carved his name on the band which crosses the breast of the Virgin. Speaking with Condivi one day regarding the youthfulness of the Divine Mother, he remarked: "The Mother must be young, younger even than the Son, to show that she is eternally the Virgin; while the Son, who took on our human character, should appear as any other man in his mortal frame."

The group is admirably composed within its marble silhouette. Michelangelo boasted that there was no idea or conception which a good artist could not represent from a block of stone. Here speaks the sculptor, and in a letter to Varchi (the same who delivered his funeral oration), written in his old age, he still defends sculpture against those who would consider it a less noble art than that of painting. "However much you say, if things which have the same aim are the same, then painting and sculpture will be identical." This will give us some idea of the discourses on art between Michelangelo and his friends.

The manner in which Michelangelo was able to confine his subject to the limits of a block of marble, or a composition to the difficult geometrical form of a square, may be appreciated in the medallion representing the Madonna and Child, now in the Museo Nazionale at Florence (fig. 279). A greater problem of the same character must have been presented upon his return from Rome, when the administrators of the cathedral desired him to use to the best advantage possible a great block of marble which had been partly spoiled by the work of another sculptor. It was from this block that Michelangelo carved his David,



Fig. 269. — Michelangelo. Portraits of the Medici. *(Medici Mausoleum.)* Florence.

the greatest work of his early life. The task busied him for more than two years; on the 14th of May, 1504, the statue was moved from his studio behind the cathedral to the site which it has occupied until recently at the entrance of the palace of the Signoria, the so-called Palazzo Vecchio. It is now represented by a copy; the original is in the Accademia (fig. 265).

Returning again to Rome, where the Cardinal della Rovere was now Pope Julius II, the latter employed Michelangelo in the execution of his tomb, a work which was to be a vexation to the artist during all his life, the tragedy of the sepulchre, as Condivi puts it. Julius II, a violent man and extreme in his ideas, wanted a gigantic sepulchre; indeed, for a time he considered setting it in the centre of the church begun by Bramante on the very spot now occupied by the tomb of St. Peter. Later he consented to a somewhat less ambitious plan according to which it was to be a sort of rectangular monument set against the wall with only three sides displayed. Condivi gives the measurements and details of Michelangelo's first plan; the projecting tomb was to be embellished with a façade on the smaller side in front in which was the entrance to the burial chamber. On the lateral façades, which were to be twice as long, there were to be niches containing statues and pilasters ornamented with figures of captives. Michelangelo executed two of these which are now in the Louvre (fig. 266). The monument was to be surmounted by two angels supporting a figure in the centre and four prophets at the corners. One of the latter is the famous statue of Moses, the only one by Michelangelo which was finally to adorn the sepulchre (fig. 267). It was not long before the ways of the papal bureaucracy began to disillusion the sincere mind of the artist. When he returned to Rome a considerable quantity of marble had been sent on before him and had been awaiting

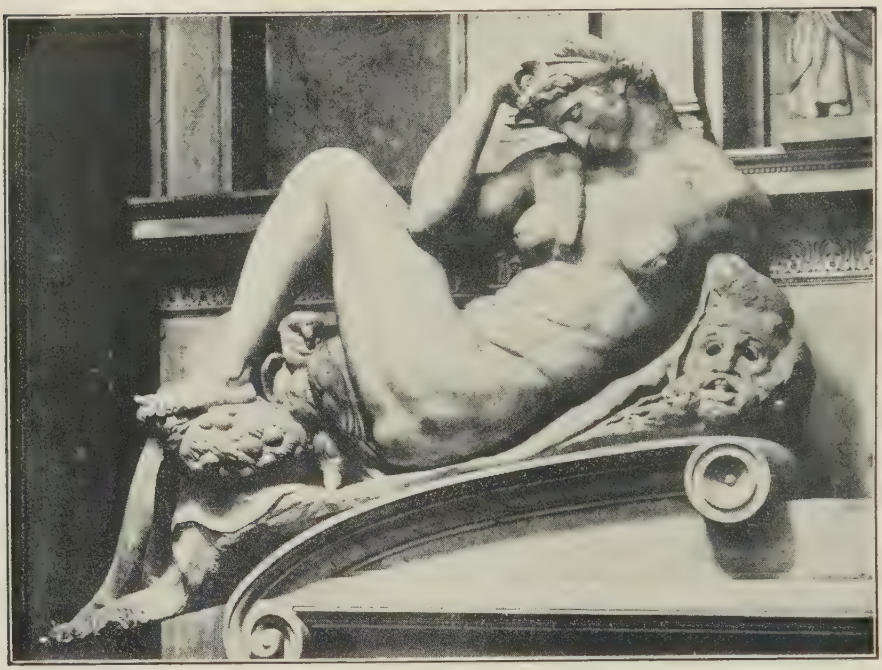


Fig. 270.—Michelangelo. Statue of Night. *(New Sacristy, St. Lorenz.)* FLORENCE.

him for some time. Michelangelo wished to fulfil his obligations and pay the freight, but difficulties arose. Objections were made to his making the payments, and finally when he had presented himself a number of times to collect the money in order to pay what he had promised, he was denied entrance into the papal exchequer. In a rage he decided to leave Rome, and taking the post for fear of being detained by the Pope, he did not stop until he reached Poggibonsi, which was in Florentine territory.

In November of the same year, 1506, however, the Pope and the sculptor were reconciled at Bologna, but Julius II with his various projects was the first to put off the work on his tomb. He ordered a bronze statue of himself for Bologna on which Michelangelo wasted two years, for the people of Bologna soon destroyed it. After that Julius II compelled him to undertake the decoration of the vault of the Sistine Chapel which occupied him two years longer, all of which delayed the work on the tomb. The Popes who succeeded Julius II, particularly the two Medici, Leo X and Clemente VII, had plans of their own, and we can readily understand that they were not especially interested in the tomb of their predecessor and more or less interfered with its completion by the great sculptor.

On the other hand, the executors of Julius II importuned Michelangelo to carry out his engagement to finish the tomb. They were persons of influence, they had advanced large sums of money and the sculptor was bound by rigid contracts. Under the pontificate of Leo X he had two years in which he was

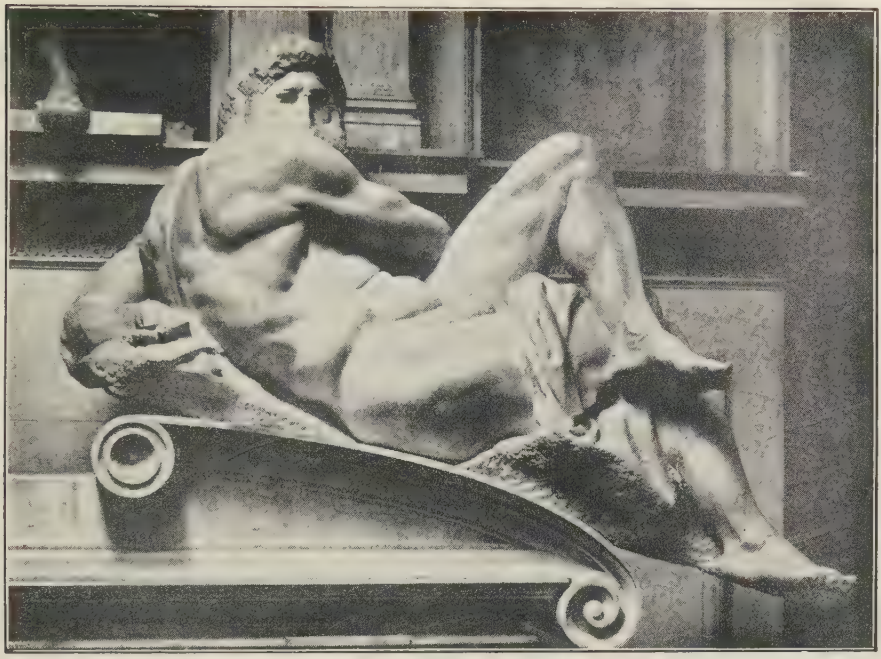


Fig. 271. — Michelangelo. Statue of Day. *(New Sacristy. St. Lorenz.)* FLORENCE.

able to complete the Moses and the two captives now in the Louvre. The two last are figures with contorted bodies and limbs drawn up as in the two smaller figures of the Laocoon group which had recently been discovered. After that, new commissions gave him no more leisure for the sepulchre of Julius II, and the Popes little by little persuaded the executors of the late Pontiff to content themselves with a more and more modest design. Finally, after thirty years, in 1542, the plan was settled upon; the tomb, instead of projecting and being covered with statues and allegorical sculptures, was to consist of a simple wall embellished by three of Michelangelo's statues, the Moses which in itself would have been enough for this most warlike of popes, and the figures of Leah and Rachel.

The façade of S. Lorenzo, a project of Leo X, was equally ill-fated; indeed, it was not even commenced, and the labor involved in assembling the marbles from Carrara was fruitless, for the structure was not completed down to our own time. In one of his letters Michelangelo describes the difficulties encountered in getting the great blocks down from the mountain, an operation which, as usual, he directed himself. The project of the second Medici Pope, however, was more fortunate. This was a mausoleum for his ancestors in what is called the New Sacristy of his own church of S. Lorenzo. Although it, too, was not completed by the master along the lines proposed, Michelangelo carved two of the tombs and a Virgin, the whole comprising seven statues which are, perhaps, the finest he ever executed (fig. 268). The Pope's plan was to have four tombs, one on each wall of the rectangular hall; the Virgin, which is now against the



Fig. 272. — Michelangelo. Pietà. *(Cathedral of Florence.)*

wall between the two patron saints of the Medici, St. Damianus and St. Cosmas, was to be set above an altar in the centre.

The old Cosimo had been honorably buried in a sepulchre executed by Verrocchio, and the Medici whom Clement VII wished to glorify by means of this magnificent mausoleum were Lorenzo the Magnificent, the father of Leo X, and Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo and the father of Pope Clement himself. Both of these men belonged to what we may call the Golden Age of the Medici family, and Michelangelo would have gladly carved their tombs, for he could not forget the kindness he had received from them when a boy and the affection of Lorenzo the Magnificent, his first protector. But the Pope also desired tombs for two other of the Medici. These were another Lorenzo and another Giuliano, unworthy successors of the first, and it was their sepulchres which Michelangelo was to execute at the very time when the Medici were fighting against Florence, or at least against all that remained fine and honorable in the old city to which the great master belonged.

Vasari pompously describes the figures of these two personages; he could hardly do less as official artist of the Medici family (fig. 269). "One," he writes, "is that of the thoughtful Duke Lorenzo with his learned countenance. His feet are crossed in an admirable manner. The other, Duke Giuliano, has a proud face with a divine brow and profile." Beneath these statues are the sarcophagi on the curved covers of which recline the allegorical figures of Day and Night and of Evening and Dawn, as if to portray the course of time which snatches us into eternity. Night seems to be sleeping, a wearied giant at rest (fig. 270). "In this stone," wrote Carlo Strozzi, "sleeps life itself. Touch it, if you have any doubt, and it will begin to speak to you." Summing up his grief at the spectacle of the corrupt century in which he lived, Michelangelo speaks through the mouth of Night in his famous verse:

"Ah! glad am I to sleep in stone, while woe
And dire disgrace rage unreproved near;
A happy chance to neither see nor hear.
So wake me not! When passing, whisper low."

Over his shoulder Day raises his half completed face like that of the sun which the dazzled eye can only vaguely distinguish (fig. 271).

These tombs of the Medici are undoubtedly the mature work of the great master. After this time we seem to discern his vexation of spirit which ever increases at the new burdens laid upon him; and they were labors unsuited to his character, like the painting of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel and the direction of the work on St. Peter's. The greatest grief of all was the death of the only woman he ever loved, the famous Vittoria Colonna, the widow of the Marchese di Pescara. Their letters reveal the platonic affection of these two noble spirits as do Michelangelo's verses, Condivi and the book of the Portuguese envoy. Condivi with Michelangelo's consent writes of the relation between them as follows: "Especially did Michelangelo greatly love the Marchesa di Pescara of whose divine spirit he was enamored; and in return did she love him with all her heart... She often returned to Rome from Viterbo or other places, where she had gone for diversion or to pass the summer, only to see Michelangelo; and his love for her was such that he often assured me that nothing so grieved him as the fact that he had not kissed her forehead as he kissed her hand, when he went to see Vittoria Colonna on her death-bed."



Fig. 273. — Michelangelo. Pietà.
Palazzo Rondanini. *(Corso Umberto.)* Rome.

Vittoria Colonna died in 1547, and Michelangelo, who was to survive her for sixteen years, always remained faithful to her memory. She was the inspiration of the poems which he wrote in his old age. All his life he had been a great reader of Dante, and now that his only love was dead, still oppressed by his tasks, he was left alone with the memory of his Beatrice. It was a pure and lofty affection. Both were persons of mature age when they met one another, and in her we find the highest ideals of religion and art. Spending most of her time in retirement in the convent at Viterbo, Michelangelo besieged her with letters and verses which finally alarmed her. Nevertheless, she replied amiably referring to her stable friendship, her genuine affection and their pleasant talks.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 274.—Benvenuto Cellini. Perseus. *(Loggia dei Lanzi.)* FLORENCE.

There is no doubt that in the interviews of these two lovers, if we can call them such, there was more of religion than of art and more of the love of God than of esthetic doctrine.

Both the life and death of Vittoria Colonna seem to have contributed greatly to the development of that mysticism which filled the soul of the sculptor during the long years of his old age and which led him to belittle and almost hate his art. "Already old and weighted down with years, I turn again to the old desire," he writes, as he still remembers her. But the idea of death preoccupies him, and he prays God to fill his heart only with divine love. Most of all does he think of the mistakes of art. "Having come to the end of my life... a life of which art was the idol and the sovereign, I well see the error in which I lived."

Nevertheless, the creative force which lay within him and which impelled him to concentrate the most lofty thoughts within the scope of a block of marble, was still active during his long and lonely old age. At the time Condivi published his biography, Michelangelo was carving a Pietà in which he represented himself under the guise of Nicodemus (fig. 272). "It is a group of four figures," writes Condivi, "larger than natural size... but it would be impossible to describe the beauty and feeling of each, especially that of the sorrowing Mother." It seems that Michelangelo executed this group with a view of having it set above his tomb, but disgusted with his artistic relapse he never completed it and even broke it up. Vasari tells us that it was restored by Tiberio Calcagno, a friend of Michelangelo, and remained for a time in the villa of Pierantonio Bandini, from which it was ultimately carried to Florence. It was placed in the cathedral where it still remains, but it has been there only since 1722. This Pietà, or Descent from the Cross, does not seem to have been the only one which Michelangelo carved. In the last years of life, "the thorns and the nails in either hand... the blood which washed away our sin" were his only hope and he meditated more and more upon them as he grew older. "May Thy blood cleanse the ungodliness which clothes me,— may it abound for me as my years increase." Among the sculptures found in his home after his death was an unfinished group. One of its figures was intended Christ, but the other above it was only roughly blocked. This must be the group which

today embellishes the stairway of one of the private palaces on the Corso at Rome; it is the most tragic and mysterious of Michelangelo's works (figure 273). Among his drawings was at least "one Pietà with nine figures," and the group of Christ and Mary also mentioned in the inventory may have been a Pietà as well.

All his family had died and his friends and enemies as well; his brothers, his patrons, the woman he loved and his faithful servant. He alone remained, but he kept his strength and will-power to the last. His last days were those of a Titan whose end was approaching. "He worked all day Saturday, and on Sunday he was about to go back to work, not knowing what day it was. On Monday, the fifteenth of February, he was attacked by a fever; his head seemed heavy, and to clear it he wished to ride horseback as was his custom every afternoon. But he was prevented by cold and weakness, so he came back and sat by the fire where he felt better than in his bed." Three days later, on the eighteenth of February, 1564, he died. His nephew arrived from Florence just as his body had been placed upon a catafalque in the church of the SS. Apostoli, and under alleged instructions from the deceased he had his remains privately sent to Florence in order to avoid interference from the people of Rome.

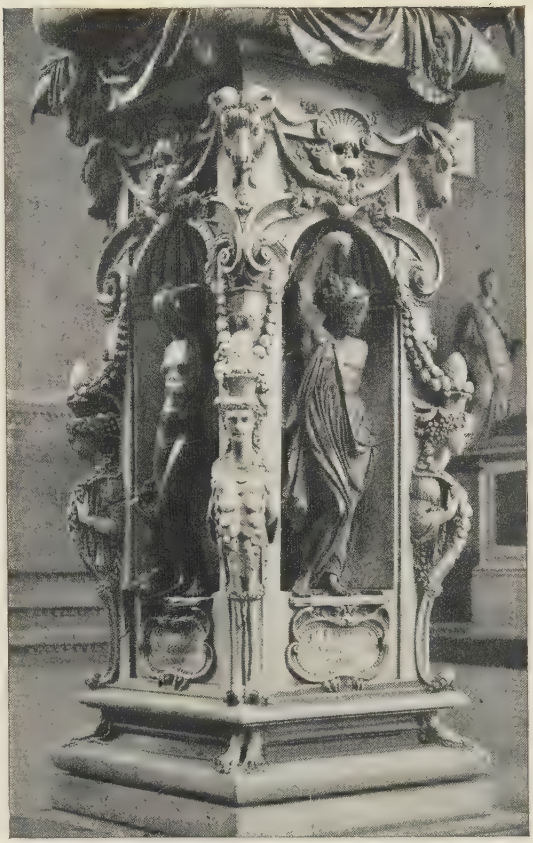


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Fig. 275. — Benvenuto Cellini. Detail of the base of the Perseus. FLORENCE.

At Florence the solemn funeral ceremonies took place in S. Lorenzo, and a tomb was prepared for him in S. Croce, the national Florentine Pantheon. Vasari describes the last rites in which he himself took an important part and gives us the names of the four illustrious Florentine artists of the time who were chosen to arrange for the funeral and the tomb; they were the sculptors, Benvenuto Cellini and Ammanati, Bronzino and Vasari himself. These names, worthy as they are, could not compare with those of the preceding generation.

The worth of these Florentine artists of the second half of the Sixteenth Century may be judged by Michelangelo's tomb, for it was carved by the most



Fig. 276. — Giovanni da Bologna. Mercury. *(Museo Nazionale.)* FLORENCE.

celebrated sculptors of the Accademia, an organization recently established, and each of them undertook a different portion of the work. "It was the greatest fortune for him that he did not die before the creation of our Accademia," naively remarks Vasari, who was still dazzled by the pomp of the funeral. Poor Michelangelo, what a fate would have been his if it had not been for the Florentine Accademia!

After Michelangelo, only two names in Italian sculpture deserve mention prior to the appearance of Bernini; these were the famous blustering goldsmith, Benvenuto Cellini, and the Frenchman, Jean de Boulogne. The latter was a native of Douai, known to the Italians as Giambologna, who passed his youth in Italy and worked principally in Florence.

Cellini was a very vain person whose autobiography is the most delightful book of the sort ever written. His Perseus, at least, is a remarkable piece of work. After the expulsion of the Medici family, the Republic of Florence commissioned Donatello to execute a statue of Judith beheading the tyrant, Holofernes, but after the return of the family, for the republican Judith they substituted the youthful hero, Perseus, who has conquered the female monster and holds up to the gaze of the people the head of Medusa (fig. 274). Today Judith and Perseus, reconciled, both occupy the Loggia dei Lanzi on the Piazza della Signoria at Florence. Cellini's bronze is a beautiful and elegant figure which gracefully extends the arm supporting the head of the Gorgon. It was a work difficult to cast in metal, and it already shows the eagerness of the virtuoso to show his success in overcoming technical difficulties. Today we may esteem Cellini more as a writer than as a sculptor; indeed, his account of his mad exploits and adventurous life is irresistible. Nevertheless, we must recognize him as a goldsmith of outstanding genius. The base of his Perseus with its reliefs and little figures is a gem in bronze and marble (fig. 275).

Cellini executed a large number of decorative pieces of goldsmith's work, such as the famous key of the Palazzo Strozzi, the salt-cellar of Francis I of France and the candelabrum in St. Peter's at Rome.



Fig. 277. — Giovanni da Bologna. Hercules killing the Centaur Nessus. *(Loggia dei Lanzi.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 278. — Giovanni da Bologna. Rape of the Sabines. *(Loggia dei Lanzi.)* FLORENCE.

Giovanni da Bologna, or Giambologna, who was somewhat later than Cellini, was certainly a great decorative artist and one of greater force than the boastful goldsmith. He came from France anxious to become an artist, spent some time at Rome and on his return he stopped in Florence, where he found a patron who kept him there and offered him facilities to continue his studies. The young Walloon soon took on the refinement of Florence. He it was who executed the well known flying Mercury, a powerful and graceful figure which seems to project itself into the air (fig. 276). Here, too, is the technical skill seen in the Perseus; it must have been an extremely difficult figure to cast, with its arms and legs extended in various directions. The composition was a difficult one as well. Giambologna took for his themes groups of struggling figures like that of Hercules and the centaur (fig. 277), where the latter contends with the hero who overcomes him, or like the Rape of the Sabines in which we see three figures in agitated confusion (fig. 278). But the principles of pure beauty were being forgotten. Whether good or bad, another ideal was sought, which was something difficult and new. The baroque was already at the outposts of the field of art and awaiting only a favorable opportunity to invade it.

Summary. — During the first half of the Sixteenth Century the colossal figure of Michelangelo overshadows the entire field of art. He always called himself a sculptor; when he was compelled to cultivate other arts to fulfil the commissions of the Popes, he never felt at home in them. The son of a Florentine civic employee, he worked as a boy in the studio of a painter by the name of Granacci; from here he was taken into the palace of the Medici under the protection of Lorenzo

the Magnificent. During his first stay at Rome he attracted attention by his marvelous group of the Pietà, now in St. Peter's. Upon his return to Florence he carved the David, making use of a stone which had been spoiled by another sculptor. Going to Rome again, he was commissioned by Pope Julius II to execute the tomb of the latter. After he had assembled the marbles required for this work, he fled to Florence in disgust at the manner in which the papal officials delayed making payment for the stone he had ordered. He became reconciled with the Pope in Bologna, however, and the Pope ordered from him a bronze statue and later entrusted him with the decoration of the vault of the Sistine Chapel. For one reason and another, work on the tomb of Julius II was put off, and his successors, Leo X and Clement VII, both members of the Medici family, in their interest for Florence kept the artist at work on a projected façade for S. Lorenzo and a mausoleum for their family. The latter is one of the most representative works of the great master. Michelangelo finally planned a much smaller tomb for Julius II than was originally intended which bears his famous statue of Moses. His last work was a Pietà which is now in the cathedral at Florence.

Michelangelo left no successors; his pupils were only mediocre artists. In Florence, however, we find two sculptors, Benvenuto Cellini and Giambologna, carving some interesting statues. These, however, are more noted for their vigorous action than for their beauty.

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Fig. 279. — Michelangelo. Virgin and Child.
(Museo Nazionale.) Florence.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 280. — Gentile Bellini. St. Mark preaching at Alexandria. *(Breda Gallery.)* MILAN.

CHAPTER X

VENETIAN PAINTING IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.
THE BROTHERS BELLINI, CARPACCIO, GIORGIONE, TITIAN, VERONESE AND TINTORETTO.

THE steady commercial relations existing between Venice and the Orient had kept that city faithful to the ideals of Byzantine art. Artistically and intellectually, parts of Venice seemed rather a Byzantine colony than a province of that new Italy of the Renaissance. The traveller who studies the primitive paintings in the museums and the frescoes of the Romanesque churches in Tuscany and the country about Rome will see that in the first half of the Thirteenth Century the predecessors of Giotto, Duccio and Cavallini had already entered upon the path which was to lead to the triumph of Italian art. But Venice had no share in this movement. In the Fourteenth Century Giotto and Giovanni Pisano got as far as Padua, and in the Fifteenth Century Donatello and Verrocchio entered the territory of the Republic to execute certain commissions, but there was no painting in Venice, in the modern sense of the word, until after the fall of Constantinople.

Venice entered upon the scene after wearied Tuscany, in the persons of Raphael and Michelangelo, had produced its most mature work at Rome. It was then that the Venetian painters, filled with enthusiasm for color and nature, perhaps, rather than for form, rejuvenated Italian art and prolonged its life for another half-century. Michelangelo lived long enough to see the paintings of Titian. The aged master, accustomed to the discipline of Rome, censured the freedom of Titian's drawing, but he could not but admire the richness and magnificence of his coloring. "Ah, if these people could have had the antique marbles before them day by day, as we have!"—he exclaimed with a foreboding that perhaps the art of Rome was about to be superseded.



Fig. 281. — Giovanni Bellini. Virgin between SS. Paul and George. *(Academy.)* VENICE.

And yet when we look at one of Titian's or Veronese's pictures, our thoughts go back to the art of classical antiquity. We have a suggestion of what the finer paintings of the ancient world may have been. Giorgione's Venus, Titian's Flora or his Bacchanals, with their paganism of form and spirit, sometimes seem like the work of some Hellenistic school which had survived and mysteriously developed during the many centuries that had intervened. The pictures of these Venetian artists are modern, of course, and yet they are ancient too. Michelangelo thought only in terms of ancient marbles and other sculpture; he had no conception of the paintings of the ancients. True, the Venetians were also unacquainted with the latter, but they sought their inspiration in the same sources as did the old Greeks, in a love for the life of mankind, in landscapes radiant with light and in that freedom of beauty which the Greeks felt so profoundly.

We may consider the brothers Bellini as the first great painters of the Venetian Renaissance. Their father, Jacopo Bellini, was a pupil of Gentile da Fabriano and a painter of considerable merit. He also worked in Florence. The sons, Giovanni and Gentile, preserved an album of their father's drawings as a precious heirloom, one of them bequeathing it to the other in his will. The daughter, Nicolosia, married the famous Paduan painter, Andrea Mantegna, and it was in the studio of the Bellinis that we find the young Giorgione who was to be the master of Titian. The Bellinis, therefore, were the link connecting the

previous art of Italy with the newer development which was to take place at Venice.

Gentile seems to have been the older of the two brothers. We have documentary evidence that his studio was near St. Mark's, and Vasari tells us of the deep affection existing between the two. All during the second half of the Fifteenth Century Venice resounded with their fame. Both were entrusted with important commissions, and they had fixed salaries as official painters of the Republic. When Sultan Mahommed II requested the Venetian Senate to send him a good painter, they dispatched Gentile with two assistants to Constantinople. "The Grand Turk," writes Vasari, "received Gentile very kindly, especially after he had seen his portrait so divinely executed." Gentile returned to Venice filled with the impressions and recollections of his Oriental trip. In the backgrounds of his frescoes and other pictures we sometimes see minarets, and his crowds wear turbans as at Cairo or Constantinople. It was a Venetian who carried out Leonardo's idea of offering himself to the sultan. This early Venetian painter, carried by the power of the old tradition, went back to ancient Byzantium, now a Turkish stronghold. After his return Gentile still painted a number of genre pictures, a field in which Carpaccio was later to specialize. The pretext was usually the life of some saint; here he would portray city streets and squares seen from a distance and groups of people (fig. 280). Gentile died in 1507, nine years before his brother Giovanni. The latter's death is mentioned in the diary of Mariano Sanuto who wrote on November 15th, 1516: "This morning we learned that Giovanni Bellini, the excellent painter, has died. His fame extends throughout the entire world, and, old as he was, he still painted admirably. He was buried in the same tomb with his brother, Gentile Bellini."



Fig. 282. — Giovanni Bellini. Madonna. *(Accademia delle Belle Arti.)* VENICE.

Much more of Giovanni Bellini's work survives than of his brother. He was of a rather passive temperament. At first he imitated the hard angular figures of Mantegna, but later a softness appeared in his work. His last Madonnas seem immobile, as though in a window in the sky; they are youthful and charming, and their coloring is clear and luminous, typically Venetian. It is interesting to note the relation of Giovanni Bellini with the schools of painting across the Alps. Dürer writes in his letters that the Venetian painter became his intimate friend when he was in Venice. "Giovanni Bellini," he says, "praised me before



Fig. 283. — Giovanni Bellini. The Doge Loredano. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

various nobles and important persons, and he is desirous of owning one of my paintings, even though he pay for it. He is an excellent person, and although very old, he is still the best painter in this city."

It was from Giovanni Bellini that Dürer learned his vibrating reds and blues. Dürer was a great draughtsman as well as a painter, but in his Venetian sojourns he learned the technique of color. Dürer painted an altar for the German merchants of Venice in their *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* at the time when Giorgione and Titian were decorating the exterior of the building. The German must have often met the young Giorgione, although the latter was probably one of those of whom the quiet northerner wrote, "they spend their time only in singing and drinking." Bellini was the only Venetian painter for whom Dürer expressed any liking. Indeed, Bellini strikes the true Venetian note, but with that simplicity of the Primitives which makes him extraordinarily interesting. His saints and Virgins are Venetian girls, younger than those of Titian. In the backgrounds a brilliant blue sky is painted with a loving hand, and a little tree waves its slender branches in the soft breeze from the Venetian Alps (figs. 281 and 282).

It was through Giovanni Bellini that Venetian art took something from the Flemish painters, from the powerful school of Bruges which grew up under the leadership of the brothers Van Eyck as we saw in the second volume of this work.

This was the time when that great and mysterious artist, the Sicilian Antonello da Messina, worked at Venice. This man not only introduced into Italy something of the pathos of Flemish art, but he is also credited with having taught a new technique of painting in oil. The rather angular draperies of Bellini's Madonnas sometimes remind us of the Van Eycks a little, as in his Pietà now in the Brera at Milan. But we are more forcibly reminded of Antonello in his portraits. These are serious and expressive faces, filled with a strong personality and characteristic of the sitter (fig. 283). Bellini owes this to Antonello who learned it both in Flanders where he had lived and in Naples and Sicily where he had doubtless seen the Flemish pictures belonging to Alphonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, at that time the monarch of the Two Sicilies. We know ittle of Antonello's life or how his extraordinary style was formed. In his portrait of himself, now in the National Gallery at London, we see a young man with a frank keen gaze. He seems to be a man of the people, not unlike the

burghers in the Fifteenth-century altar-pieces of Catalonia. Probably Antonello also lived for a time in Alphonso's Spanish domain, and it seems fairly certain that he was in Bruges. But we have positive information only of his stay in Venice, where he did his most mature work. For this reason we number Antonello among the Venetian painters; as a matter of fact, he was a solitary wanderer. In Messina, however, we find his most important picture; it is a triptych in the cathedral, miraculously preserved amid the ruin caused by the last earthquake.

We can hardly omit mention of Andrea Mantegna's relation with the Venetian school. As we have already seen, he was a Paduan and the brother-in-law of the Bellinis. Padua lay in Venetian territory and was a subject city, but Donatello and Verrochio, and earlier still Giotto, had worked there, so there had been a constant infiltration of influences from the Tuscan Renaissance. The man who perpetuated these Florentine traditions here was a certain Squarcione, although his only claim to fame is through his pupil, Mantegna.

It is from Vasari that we learn something of the education of Mantegna. "While still a boy," he writes, "Mantegna was taken to the school of Squarcione who adopted him as his son, and as Squarcione understood that he himself was not the best painter in the world, he urged him constantly to study the old masters." Thus he explains the classical character which Mantegna's first pictures attempt to produce. Later, Squarcione, jealous of his

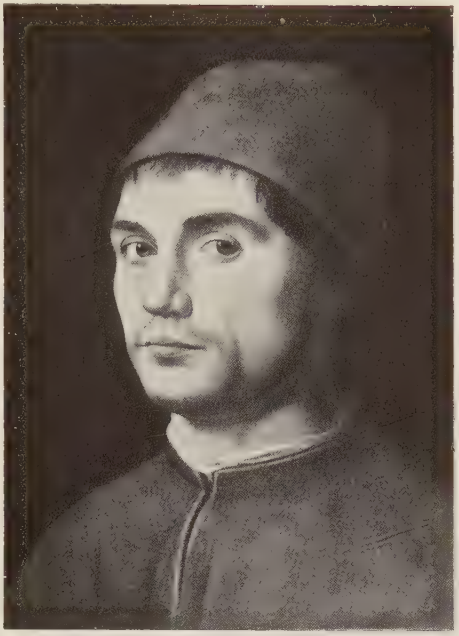


Fig. 284. — Antonello da Messina. Portrait of himself. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.



Fig. 285. — Antonello da Messina. Portrait. *(Metropolitan Museum of New York.)*



Fig. 286. — Mantegna. The Circumcision. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

pupil, was fond of saying that Mantegna exaggerated in his imitation of antiquity and that his figures were of stone rather than flesh. Although it is true that there is a certain sculptural quality in his drawing and an excess of architectural details in his backgrounds, nevertheless the latter are outlined with an elegance that we might call modern. Sometimes the folds of the drapery seem rather dry and superfluously exact, but the drawing is always extremely good and he is a great decorator (fig. 286).

There is no doubt that Bellini was influenced somewhat by Mantegna whom he praised highly. In a letter to Isabella Gonzaga of Mantua who wanted a picture containing a history or an antique fable, Bellini excuses himself saying that in a way he may be compared with his brother-in-law. The Bellinis were followed by a number of Venetian artists who carried on their tradition. Vittore Carpaccio was the most interesting personality of the entire group; the greater number of his pictures are still in Venice. He was the painter of the merchants' guilds which vied with one another in the glorification of their patron saints and pictures representing important episodes in their history. Carpaccio's series of paintings portraying the life of St. Ursula is today one of the finest in the Academy at Venice. They are a number of compositions forming a broad frieze, and the animation of the figures is extraordinary. In the background are cities, the sea, the canals and high rocks surmounted by buildings above the water, all in the manner inaugurated by Gentile Bellini (fig. 287).

He also painted for the Dalmatian Brotherhood of the Schiavoni a series of illustrations of the legends of St. George, St. Jerome and St. Tryphonius, the three great Dalmatian saints. St. George's combat with the dragon is especially famous, perhaps the finest of Carpaccio's works. The bold knight, dressed in black armour, charges the monster over a field strewn with bones and corpses (fig. 288). In the scenes depicting the return of St. George with the dragon and the conversion of the king, the father of the rescued princess, we see all the



Fig. 287.—Carpaccio. Life of St. Ursula. An Embassy. *(Accademia.)* VENICE.

magnificence and display of Oriental life. We note a strange mixture of mediaeval mysticism together with the Oriental costumes and trappings. Carpaccio may have become familiar with the latter through his association with Gentile Bellini. Carpaccio has been compared with Benozzo Gozzoli; the Tuscan artist was also fond of picturesque monuments in his landscapes and of groups of figures, but Carpaccio's pictures have the Venetian coloring and a romantic intensity which we do not find in those of Gozzoli. Carpaccio is also characterized by a certain aristocratic feeling, which is very natural as he came of noble family; indeed, all his works have both distinction and good taste. Even in mystical scenes we still see his elegance and culture (fig. 289).

Carpaccio and the two Bellini were followed by other masters of the same school. We might call them the Venetian quattrocentists; their work is more brilliant and luminous than elsewhere in Italy, but it is also more languid and sentimental. In the hands of Cima da Conegliano, Vincenzo Catena and the rest,



Fig. 288.—Carpaccio. St. George and the dragon. *(S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.)* VENICE.



Fig. 289. — Carpaccio. Meditation of the Passion. *(Museum of New York.)*

Venetian painting would have kept to the same themes and mannerisms, and in spite of the beauty of its coloring we would have but a repetition of the history of the Siena school.

This monotony was ended by a man who was frank enough to express himself without the aid of the costumes and trappings of the Middle Ages and had the courage to put into his pictures the spirit of his time, the wealthy and free Venice of the Renaissance which Titian was later to immortalize. We know but little of this extraordinary painter who was commonly known as Giorgione; he was the real founder of Venetian painting. The little we do know of his life is confused by unauthenticated details arising from popular legend. He was the son of a country gentleman of the Venetian Alps, born in the fortified town of Castelfranco. Surrounded by its square towers and situated on a green hill, it still preserves the beautiful picture of the Virgin between St. Francis and St. Liberale, supposed to be the portrait of an unfaithful sweetheart of the artist (figure 290). He is said to have died of a broken heart at the age of thirty-three, but as a matter of fact he died of the pestilence. There are hardly a dozen of his authentic pictures, but in spite of his short life and few works, his influence upon art was unequalled in his century. His fascinating personality explains the extent to which his life and works have been studied in recent years, though the problems involved are farther from solution today than they seemed a num-

ber of years ago. It is fairly certain that Giorgione was born in 1476, but until he painted the Castelfranco picture in 1504 we know little or nothing of him. In this work a certain unusual quickness of perception appears, although it is still executed in the style of Giovanni Bellini. Vasari tells us that Giorgione did not begin to paint in his "modern" manner until 1507, attributing the change to the influence of Leonardo who was in Venice for a short time. Be that as it may, there is other evidence as well that a change was observed in Giorgione's method of painting in 1508, and it is not until that date that we begin to find the new manner. Let us take a look at the pictures in which this new style appears and which tradition or proof indicates positively as the work of Giorgione. One of these is the Sleeping Venus in the Dresden Gallery, a nude girl lying upon a mantle in the midst of a landscape. Its purity of line makes this figure comparable with the finest of the antique marbles. Titian, Velasquez, Goya and even Manet in their nude figures of women have followed the general lines of Giorgione's Venus, but none of them have achieved the chaste beauty of the young Venetian painter's work. It is truly the creation of a new type, as important and definite as was the Venus of Praxiteles in ancient times. This reclining, almost prostrate, figure was an artistic invention which future generations were to accept with little modification, and it can be ascribed to none other than Giorgione. In a document of the year 1525 we read that in the house of a certain Marcello at Venice "there was a nude figure of Venus sleeping in a landscape," although, it adds, "the landscape was completed by Titian." (Plate XVIII.) Here we find a difficulty which will reappear in the case of other pictures as well. Titian, influenced by the style of Giorgione, finished or retouched some of that painter's pictures.



Fig. 290. — Giorgione. Madonna between St. Francis and St. Liberale. *(Castelfranco.)* Venice.

In other pictures, however, Giorgione worked without any collaboration. The allegory supposed to represent the Trial of Moses is composed with such a feeling for decoration that we might imagine the doctrine of Puvis de Chavannes to be derived from it (fig. 291). But none of the great painters of our own



Fig. 291. — Giorgione. Allegory. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* Florence.

time would have dared, like Giorgione, to attempt a composition so suggestive as the little picture of the Tempest. It is a fanciful landscape of river, trees and towers, and over the stream is a delicate rustic bridge. At the back are massed storm clouds charged with electricity, and a flash of lightning splits the air. In the foreground there is an incoherence that is justified only by the art with which the picture is painted. We see a youth leaning upon a pike and a half-nude woman nursing a baby. Whatever the significance of these figures, the theme serves only to present the tempest and the woman, associated for esthetic reasons in the mind of the artist. We have the rapid transition from one sensation to another found in a musical symphony. There is no logical connection; they are grouped according to some rythm of the spirit and not the laws of space and of reality. We have literary references to this picture; in the Sixteenth Century it was called "the small landscape with the storm, the gypsy woman and the soldier." Later it was known as the picture of the Giorgione family, but Wickoff has recently shown that the picture of the Tempest was taken from one of Stazio's poems and the personages are Adrastus and Hypsipyle.

A third picture will complete our brief summary of Giorgione's works; this is the marvelous Concert now in the Louvre. (Plate XVIII.) The landscape is filled with dark masses of foliage very different from the slender little trees of Titian with their feathery leaves. Two elegant youths, evidently artists, are seated upon the ground, one of them strumming a lute. Of the nude models who are their companions, one plays upon a rustic pipe while the other draws water from a marble fountain. It is an anticipation of Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne, although a more restrained and intellectual product. Centuries later Manet was to attempt somewhat the same thing in his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* a group of two artists and their companions, one of the latter being nude. But it is much more ordinary in every respect, a simple study in light and lacking in spirit. But here another difficulty occurs. Is the Concert in the Louvre an authentic work of Giorgione, or merely that of one of his imitators? During the last ten years this



Giorgione. Sleeping Venus. *(Museum of Dresden.)*



Giorgione. Concert. *(Louvre Museum.)*



Fig. 292. — Giorgione. The Tempest.
(Palazzo Giovanelli.) VENICE.

picture has been ascribed to a certain Campagnola, Sebastiano del Piombo, Titian and even others. So it will readily be seen that we do not lay so much stress upon Giorgione himself as upon his influence and style. And what is that style? It is difficult to reply to this question without going into a lengthy discussion of esthetics, but we may say briefly that it consists of a certain *sfumato* in the lighting which adds an interest to the shadows and a modern conception of landscape as a spiritual entity. We no longer find those academic little trees as in Bellini's work and that of the Tuscan school, but a landscape that overflows with feeling. These two characteristics were Giorgione's innovations and typically Venetian. They represent the contribution of Venice and a step forward in the development of pictorial art.

Giorgione was also the first to give to his portraits that vibrating personality which we afterward find in Titian and, later still, in El Greco who, as we shall see, was educated in Venice. Giorgione's portraits not only reflect the spirit of the sitter; they also have a power of taking his character beyond the actual time of the portrait. The painter reveals his past and prophesies his future (figs. 294, 295 and 296).

A contemporary of Giorgione was that singular artist called Palma. Although he added nothing especially new to Venetian painting, in some respects he anticipated Titian and the latter's splendid ideal of beauty.

That which was only a foretaste in Giorgione became frequent and abundant in Titian. Like the former, Titian was also a native of the region of the Venetian Alps, a country at once smiling, green and luminous. His birthplace was Cadore, a little town to the south of the Tyrol in the mountains generally known as the Dolomites. His father, Gregorio Vecelli, was a distinguished soldier of the Republic and sent the boy to Venice under the care of his uncle who was to make a lawyer of him. At the age of twenty, however, it was fully decided that he was to be an artist. We do not know in what studio he began his apprenticeship, but the fact is established that in 1507 he was assisting Giorgione in painting some frescoes on the hall of the German merchants at Venice. This is our first authentic information of Titian as a painter.



Fig. 293. — Giorgione or Titian. Virgin and Child accompanied by two saints. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

Soon his reputation became such that he was able to attempt to obtain some of the honorary employments which the aged Giovanni Bellini had enjoyed for many years. The two schools, which had hardly been contrasted in Giorgione's time, now appeared face to face. After the death of Giovanni Bellini in 1516, the new spirit represented by Titian triumphed. During his long career as the head of his profession, he was intimate with the great men of his century. Only Rubens enjoyed any such familiarity with the powerful ones of his time. His pictures were sought not only by popes, cardinals, guilds and the princes of Italy, but also by those monarchs who struggled with one another for the hegemony of Europe. Indeed, the latter wished to make him court painter. Francis I of France tried to bring him to his court, and indeed, Titian painted the marvelous portrait of him that now hangs in the Louvre. But the painter decided for the House of Hapsburg, drawn, no doubt, by his relations with Charles V. Titian's first meeting with the Emperor was at Bologna in 1532, and from that time on he worked almost entirely for the Spanish court. In 1540, at the middle of the period covered by Titian's artistic carreer, this patronage was made official and he received an annual salary of two hundred crowns which was later increased to four hundred through the mediation of the Marqués del Vasto. In spite of his reputation for austerity, Philip II was a great art lover and collector, and this monarch continued to favor the Venetian



Fig. 294. — Giorgione. Portrait of Gattamelata. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 295. — Giorgione. A Knight of Malta. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 296. — Giorgione. Portrait of Giovanni Arrigo. *(Cook Gallery.)* RICHMOND.

painter. Once when his salary was in arrears Titian complained to the King that "although he was capable of conquering the world, he could not compel his ministers to obey him." Philip took the painter's part and issued a peremptory order to the governor of Milan not to neglect this important duty.

In spite of these close relations with the Spanish court, Titian seems never to have gone to Spain. The only evidence of a possible visit to that country is an imperial decree signed at Barcelona appointing him Count Palatine and Knight of Santiago. Titian was a true Venetian; he was only once in Rome and twice in Southern Germany. The first of these visits to Augsburg was to paint two portraits of Charles V. One of these, a mounted figure of the Emperor, is now in the Prado and the other in the Munich Gallery. His second journey was to paint a portrait of Philip which was to be sent to Mary Tudor, but has since disappeared. Titian did not again see the Emperor, and his subsequent portraits of him were painted from memory. For that matter, all Titian's portraits and other representations of Philip II show a man of about the same age. He painted allegorical pictures of the King, and of Spain as the Defender of the Faith, and on a canvas now in the Prado he represented his patron, the Marqués del Vasto, as an ancient hero.

In his paintings Titian often glorified a city or a noble family. His first work of this sort was the admirable Madonna of the Pesaro family which he painted to commemorate the victory over the army of Charles VIII. The Virgin appears sitting upon a plinth or base, and beside her are St. Peter and St. Francis. The members of the Pesaro family kneel after the usual manner of donors; a captain waves before the Virgin the papal standard of the Borgias surmounted by a victor's wreath (fig. 297). In the background we see the hand-



Fig. 297. — Madonna of the Pesaro family. *(Chiesa dei Frari.)* VENICE.

some architectural setting which was to become traditional in the Venetian school.

Titian was naturally called upon to paint many religious pictures. As the head of his profession, he was often employed to do work of this sort for the various guilds and chapters. One of his earliest compositions is the famous Assumption of the Madonna. It was painted for the Franciscans and is now in the Venetian Accademy. The composition reminds us somewhat of Raphael's Transfiguration and is also divided into two parts. Below, the apostles in a rather sombre atmosphere contemplate the empty tomb, while above, the Virgin is borne to the sky upon a cloud supported by cherubs. The Madonna of the Assumption is one of Titian's most beautiful figures. She is a Venetian girl enveloped in a mantle the folds of which are drawn with marvelous realism (fig. 299). At other times the master went further afield in search of his inspiration. In his Presentation in the Temple, also in the Venetian Academy, the Virgin ascends the mystic steps (fig. 298) as in Giotto's frescoes at Padua. After more than two centuries it is interesting to see one of Giotto's types still developing and influencing even so independent a painter as Titian. Unlike Botticelli, two worlds did not exist for Titian, nor did he require an emotional religious conversion to be able to paint religious pictures. He found in human nature a dignity as well as a nobility and beauty sufficient to clothe his mystical themes from the Christian repertory. This is seen plainly in his figures of Christ and of Mary Magdalene, in his Descent from the Cross and many other pictures.



Titian. Sacred and Profane Love. *(Borghese Gallery.)* Rome.



Fig. 298. — Titian. The Presentation in the Temple. *(Venetian Academy.)*

The great painter always disliked to leave his home which was a centre of intellect and refinement at Venice. He lived in the Biti Grande, at that time a fashionable district overlooking the lagoons and with a view toward Murano. From the windows of his studio he could see the distant crests of the Alps. On the slopes of these mountains were the old trees and the fresh streams which he had known in his childhood and which he now lovingly painted in the backgrounds of his pictures. His wife, Cecilia, died in 1536, and his sister, Orsa, now cared for his house and three children, Pomponio, Orazio and Lavinia. The last was a beautiful Venetian girl who was the model for some of his pictures. It seems likely that the handsome Flora in the Pitti Gallery and the Salome now in the Prado are no other than his own daughter Lavinia.

Titian always kept on good terms with the princes of Northern Italy, particularly with the lords of Mantua and Ferrara where he often journeyed travelling up the Po. At Ferrara he knew Ariosto, who was his good friend. In the National Gallery at London is an admirable portrait of the latter from the hand of Titian.

We may say that it was in Titian's Venetian home that Pietro Aretino took refuge when he was driven from Rome on account of the excessive sensuality of his writings. In one of Veronese's pictures, the Marriage at Cana, we see a group of artists at the table conversing



Fig. 299. — Titian. Assumption of the Madonna. *(Venetian Academy.)*



Fig. 300. — Titian. The Concert. *(Pitti Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

and making music. These are the intellectuals who gathered in Titian's studio and who, no doubt, told him many of the stories and myths of classical antiquity. Only in this manner can we explain that revival of the pagan spirit which seems to take us back to Hellenistic times. By a fortunate chance we have a description of one of these feasts of reason in the home of Titian which was always filled with visitors. In August 1540 the Latin scholar, Priscianese, was invited to a dinner at the home of the painter. The architect, Sansovino, Aretino and two other artists were also present. The scholar describes the discussion which took place in the studio until late in the afternoon, when the heat of the day was over, they all descended to the magnificent garden beside the house. "From here could be seen the sea, and as soon as the sun set the water was covered with gondolas filled with beautiful ladies. The air resounded with the music of instruments and voices until midnight, while we enjoyed a delicious supper." The same year Titian procured a splendid organ through painting the portrait of Alessandro, a famous Venetian manufacturer of organs.

In Titian's pictures we often find music associated with intellectual enjoyment and plastic beauty. In his Venus, now in the Prado, Titian combined in a romantic manner the sound of music with a vision of the goddess of love (figure 301).

Sometimes music alone forms the theme of the picture as in the well known one in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. The player of the clavichord with his tapering fingers looks out with the veiled eyes of spiritual intoxication. A bald man



Fig. 301. — Titian. Venus. *(Prado.)* Madrid.

who is less emotional plays what seems to be a cello and the third figure is an elegant youth with a plumed hat who seems rather indifferent to the feelings of his companions (fig. 300). The Venetians had always been fond of music; in the Fifteenth-century pictures of Bellini's school we often see angels seated at the feet of the Madonna and playing the cithern (fig. 322). As we have already noted, Giorgione, too, set his Concert in the open air, associating the beauty of the human form and the landscape with that of music. Even today Venetian serenaders float down the Grand Canal in lighted gondolas. It was in modern Venice that Wagner found the inspiration for his Tristan and Isolde. Music and painting have always been the two arts of Venice; St. Mark's and the palaces along the canals seem to be painting and music rather than architecture.

In a way, therefore, Titian's pictures are an apotheosis of Venice itself; never was there such an understanding of light; an iridescent radiance bathing a perfect human form or falling upon brilliant fabrics, the brocaded velvets worn by the wealthy Venetian ladies of his time. His famous painting in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, known as Sacred and Profane Love, is the synthesis of all these sensations. Here is a peaceful landscape beneath a soft blue sky, beginning to fade, and in the distance a little village and some trees. Close by, a mass of obscure foliage is like a screen behind two women's figures which are believed to symbolize the two conceptions of Venus and love as explained in Plato's Dialogues. One of them is nude and unadorned and holds in her hand a censer. The other, dressed in a gleaming robe of white silk, leans over a vessel. Who are these two women? The little Cupid between them dabbles in the water contained in the pagan sarcophagus on the edges of which the two



Fig. 302. — Titian. Danae. (*Prado.*) MADRID.

figures are seated. One at least is Venus. And for this reason it is thought that the picture represents the goddess urging Medea to follow Jason. Recently, however, another explanation has been given. The fair woman who disdainfully listens to the advice of Venus may be a nymph, and the theme, the allegory of the death of Adonis. However that may be, the beauty is there and the usual name characterizes the picture perfectly, that is, love in its two most different forms, sacred and profane. Here is a fair Venetian as Titian loved to paint her, drapery gleaming in the light, trees and a transparent sky, a classical allegory, perhaps, but such a one as only Titian could paint. One experiences a keen pleasure in the golden hair of the two women, in the shimmering white robe of one and the red mantle over the arm of the other. (Plate XIX.)

At times he gives such a symphony of color an interior setting, as with the Venus in the Uffizi Gallery and the Danae at Madrid. The former, painted for the Duke of Urbino, is a repetition of Giorgione's theme. We have the same posture, but the lady is in a room, and her servants in the background are getting her garments. She holds a handful of violets and at her feet a graceful little dog is curled up (fig. 303). Giorgione's Venus has been transformed into an aristocratic courtesan.

The Danae, too, is a marvel of feminine beauty. It is, of course, first and foremost a study of the nude. In the background falls the golden shower, somewhat darker in tone to make the white form stand out (fig. 302).

It is an audacious thing. Never elsewhere has an artist attempted such a



Titian. The Count of Atri (1552). *(Museum of Cassel.)*



Fig. 303. — Titian. The Venus of the Duke of Urbino. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

theme without falling into vulgarity. Titian himself seems to have led a model life; nowhere do we read of love-affairs like those of Raphael. His son, Pomponio, was a very different sort of person, a shameless profligate. His daughter, however, was the beloved wife of Cornelio Sarcinelli. The great artist, during his vacations at Cadore, at the home of his brother, Francesco, or in his villa at Ceneda near the Alps, must have reflected on the tragic power of love which so transformed his fellow creatures, enveloping them in a tempest of joys and sorrows. But the sky never ceased to shine; the sun and moon and the green meadows were still there.

Often Titian's paganism is revealed in a literary theme. The most precious examples of this are the three pictures which he painted for the Duke of Ferrara. One is now in the National Gallery at London and the two others in the Prado at Madrid. The one in the National Gallery represents the meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne. The god arrives on the shore in his car drawn by leopards. Ariadne, surprised, attempts to escape, but Bacchus, crowned with vine-leaves, leaps impetuously from his car to detain her, while his satyrs clash their cymbals and sing their mad hymns (fig. 304). One of the pictures in the Prado represents a bacchanal. In the foreground a beautiful nude Venetian girl lies sleeping. Near her recline two others, one of them about to drink from a flat vessel. Satyrs are dancing and Bacchus himself, sprawling upon a low hill near by, watches his followers, devotees of love and wine. Upon the grass lies a sheet of music, and in the distance is the sea with a sail upon the horizon (fig. 305) The third picture of this series, also in the Prado, is the so-called Worship of Venus. In the thick



Fig. 304. — Titian. Bacchus and Ariadne. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

woods we see Cupids rambling and playing; their soft little figures are everywhere in the landscape. Two girls bring an offering to the marble statue of the goddess which is like a Greek figure.

The history of these pictures is well known. The Bacchus and Ariadne was painted in 1521. The Duke of Ferrara was obliged to wait two years for the other two. And yet none of them was destined to remain in the place for which it was intended. Of Titian's works, they are, perhaps, the most universally admired; the beholder cannot but experience a gentle feeling of content. The coloring is beautiful; the skies are blue, of a spring-like freshness, and crossed by brilliant clouds. The trees quiver in the soft breeze; everything, foliage, drapery and figures, is most charming.

It was not until 1545 when he was fifty-eight years old that Titian went to Rome, and even then it was only to secure a clerical post for his son, Pomponio. The Pope lodged him in the Farnese Palace and gave him a studio in the Belvedere, where he painted a Danae. Here Michelangelo came to call upon him, and Vasari was his cicerone in the Eternal City. "Titian is as agreable in his conversation and courteous in manner as he is excellent in his art," writes the latter.



Fig. 305. — Titian. Bacchanal. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

Titian regretted that he had not visited Rome earlier in life as it was now too late for this experience to have much effect. Notwithstanding his age, he continued to produce excellent work. He had a vast experience in the ways of the world, but it never made him pessimistic. Twenty years later, when Vasari went to Venice, he still found Titian sound in mind and body; indeed, everyone wondered at his endurance. In 1564 the Spanish ambassador wrote to Philip II that "the painter is still vigorous and strong in his work, although those who know him well say he must be nearly ninety years old." A portrait of him in the Prado painted in his old age shows him erect and ready to paint. He looks out upon the world with eyes that can still see more beauty than those of any other mortal (fig. 308). As time went on his friends and relatives dropped off one after another; first his brother Francesco, the country gentleman; then his friend, the architect Sansovino. His daughter, Lavinia, married; Pomponio was a priest; only Orazio, his second son, became a portrait painter and assisted his father professionally at times. The great house was almost deserted; only the master remained with his pictures. Titian died in 1576 at the age of ninety and then he was carried off by a pestilence that raged in Venice at the time. Orazio was also stricken by the epidemic, and the handsome house with its priceless treasures



Fig. 306. — Titian. Venus and Cupid. *(Pitti Palace.)* FLORENCE.

was plundered by a thieving rabble that had gotten beyond control of the police in those terrible days. The great painter was buried as he himself had planned, in the church of the Frari, where he lies near his famous Madonna.

No one inherited the genius of the master, nor was he ever surrounded by pupils as was Raphael. Stories have come down to us of his jealousy of the two other great Venetian painters. These were Veronese and Tintoretto, who were the contemporaries of the master's old age. This was, in a way, advantageous to art, for the result was that the two younger men developed their talent independently and were not obsessed by the works of the great master, as was the case with Raphael's pupils.

Even Veronese, however, imitated Titian in some of his earlier pictures (figs. 311 and 312). Veronese was the son of a sculptor of Verona and was always known as the *Veronese,* or the man from Verona. After painting a number of pictures in his native city and other parts of the province, Paolo Veronese went to Venice where he decorated the sacristy of S. Sebastiano. He was afterward chosen to collaborate with Titian in the decoration of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palace of the Doges, which was being remodeled by Sansovino. Here Veronese took for his theme Venice crowned by Fame in which the Queen of the Adriatic, richly dressed, appears above, seated among some columns and surrounded by gods and heroes. Below is a throng of knights and ladies, and on a balcony and on the ground are soldiers and populace (fig. 313).

Veronese's magnificent decorations are always filled with balustrades and columns in long perspective. There are balconies and loggias beyond which



Titian. Portrait of Bella. *(Pitti Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

appear crowds of spectators surveying the scene represented in the centre.

Veronese loved to paint a great apotheosis; everything became for him a part of a large stage on which the principal personages seem almost lost among the many minor parts and supernumeraries. Take, for example, the famous Marriage at Cana now in the Louvre. It was painted for the refectory of the monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, where it was preserved until Napoleon carried it off to Paris. There are more than a hundred figures on the vast canvas; the Saviour and his disciples are lost among the crowd of guests and pages. Many of the personages at the feast are portraits of the most prominent people of the time: the Marquis del Vasto, Francis I, Tintoretto, Charles V, Queen Mary of England and Queen Eleanor of France have been identified among them, some with more reason than others. Among the musicians at the feast we see the painter himself playing the viol and accompanied by Titian on the bass-viol.



Fig. 307. — Titian. La Flora. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

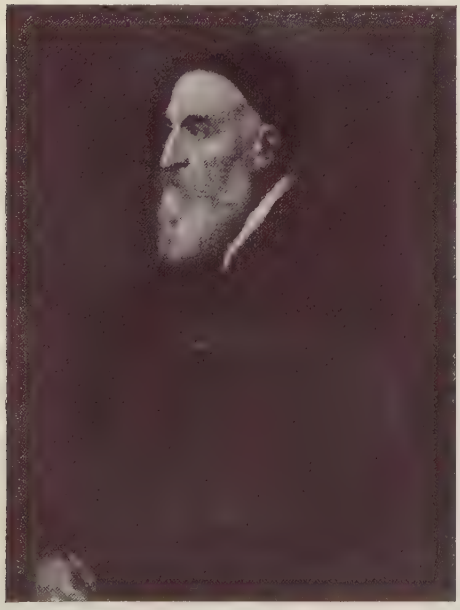


Fig. 308. — Titian. Portrait of himself. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

The Marriage at Cana was followed by the Feast of Levi. It was painted for the monastery of St. John and St. Paul and is now in the Academy at Venice (fig. 309). Here, too, is a composition in which the Gospel narrative is freely interpreted; so much so, indeed, that the painter was made to give an account of himself before the tribunal of the Inquisition. The documents of the trial have been preserved and they afford a delightful example of artistic impudence. Veronese admits that he substituted the figure of Mary Magdalene in front of the table by a dog to add to the harmony of the composition. He also justified the large number



Fig. 309. — Veronese. Feast of Levi. *(Venetian Academy.)*

of minor personages in his picture by citing the crowds of figures which had been introduced into the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo, the highest authority on art at the time. One of the judges made the rather slighting observation that it was hardly a parallel case, because a multitude was called for in the Last Judgment. He went on to remark that in a theme taken from the text of the Gospels it was hardly proper to bring in musicians, buffoons, negroes, courtesans and drunken men just because it suited the whim of a temperamental Venetian artist.

Nevertheless the tribunal was very indulgent with Veronese who continued to paint his extraordinary dramatic compositions with their charming perspectives. Sometimes we see in the background beautiful white buildings with balustrades and hemicycles standing out beneath a greenish blue sky as in the magnificent picture of Jesus amid the Teachers, now in the Prado at Madrid (fig. 310).

Veronese possessed a genius for the representation of the wealth and materialism of Venice, but he was also capable of genuine sentiment. The delicacy of some of his allegories and even his portraits reveal a gentleness of spirit which we should never imagine from the larger compositions filled with figures in both foreground and background and on various levels (figs. 311 and 312). We have, perhaps, the finest revelation of this side of Veronese in his beautiful picture of St. Helena's Vision of the Cross, now in the National Gallery at London. The sainted lady sleeps with her head resting upon one hand. Beside her is a window opening upon a landscape which reveals in a measure the nature of her dream. She is dressed in a light garment of an indefinable tone, a greenish brown which seems to change as one looks at it from a different angle.

Posterity has pardoned Veronese for the apparent irreverence contained in some of his religious compositions. He was possessed of a playful optimism in his attitude toward life; no egotistical Epicurean, but the exponent of the feelings of a large number of his fellow men, among them the Venetians of the Sixteenth Century. To Veronese the problem of the world was one of light and form combined to give the greatest pleasure to the senses. His esthetic joy was not con-



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Fig. 310. — Veronese. Jesus amid the Teachers. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

centrated and individual as was Titian's; it was that of a multitude grouped beneath a broad portico to admire the silks and brocades of the passing ladies, to breathe the soft air of Venice or to listen to music floating across the Grand Canal.

His spirit could conceive of nothing beyond Venice; nowhere else can we imagine two such artists as he and Titian appearing at the same time, nor can we think of Venice without their pictures. They have done as much to perpetuate the soul of Venice as has the brilliant rainbow-hued light, the palaces along the Grand Canal or the marvelous coloring of St. Mark's. To us Venice is the city of its painters, and Veronese with his rich decorative compositions, though he may not be as profound a genius as Titian, has contributed greatly to the formation of that Venetian tradition which, even though Venice itself were no more, would still live in the world of ideas.

The third great name of this generation of artists living in the second half of the Sixteenth Century was not held in such esteem at the time as were those of Titian and Veronese. It has been left to the critic of modern times to understand and appreciate the importance and extraordinary value of Tintoretto. From the short account of a certain Ridolfi who has written the biographies of the Venetian painters, we would infer that Tintoretto was never accepted as the equal of Titian and Veronese and that his life was one long struggle to obtain employment. His was a dynamic genius which has offended many people, but one ends by being impressed by his very power and bruskness. It is true that he had difficulty in obtaining commissions; a multitude of ideas seethed within him, and he needed great canvases and vast wall-spaces to give form to the creations of his brain.

Beyond what Ridolfi tells us we know little of his life. He was of short stature and the son of a Venetian dyer which accounts for the scornful appellation, Tintoretto, the little dyer. At first, for a time, he frequented the studio of Titian, but the master was envious of him, according to Ridolfi, and would



Fig. 311. — Portrait of Veronese's wife. *(Brunswick Museum.)*

have nothing to do with him. The young man recognized, nevertheless, the great value of Titian's work and wrote upon the wall of his studio as the goal to be attained: "The drawing of Michelangelo and the coloring of Titian."

Ridolfi goes on to say that Tintoretto possessed copies of Michelangelo's statues and never wearied of studying them, although his impetuous nature soon led him to seek other methods. This was not so much a study of human life, such as Giotto made, nor of lighting as in the case of Masaccio. What he did was to make figurines of wax and clay, dress them in silks and set them in little houses of wood, with miniature doors and windows. These he would hang from the ceiling of his studio and study the perspective effect from below. Tintoretto's experiments with artificial lighting seem very modern as Ridolfi describes them. He resembles the men of our own day who are always seeking some new effect, although few or none of them possess the genius of Tintoretto. He was an audacious but not always a careful draughtsman. He did not make many drawings; only two or three from his own hand have come down to us. His ideas flowed from his brush, and he lost little time making preliminary studies or elaborating his composition. Once his style was formed, what he wanted to do was to paint, to cover great canvases. Often he would obtain only the actual cost of the work for his



Fig. 312. — Veronese. Mars and Venus bound by Cupid. New York.



Fig. 313. — Veronese. Apotheosis of Venice. *(Palazzo ducale.)*

compensation. The family was supported from the dowry of his wife, Faustina, who was of the noble Vescovi family. The story is told that when he was a youth his desire to paint was so strong that he obtained permission from some of his neighbors to decorate the façades of their houses; indeed, his first great series of pictures was executed in much the same manner. He offered for a hundred ducats to decorate the great walls of the choir of S. Maria dell Orto. The prior accepted the offer under the condition that the costs of the undertaking



Fig. 314.—Tintoretto. Mercury and the Graces. *(Palace of the Doges.)* VENICE.

should all come out of this sum. In the same way, almost as a favor, he was permitted to decorate some of the wall-spaces between the windows of the Library on which Titian and Veronese were already at work. It was with great difficulty that he secured the commission to paint the magnificent decorations of the Palace of the Doges, and finally his masterpiece, the decoration of the Scuola di S. Rocco, was the result of the importunities of the painter. The Brotherhood of S. Rocco had opened a competition for the work, and a number of the painters of Venice came on the appointed day bringing sketches of what they proposed to do. Tintoretto, however, brought a finished canvas executed in his usual dashing manner. The other competitors naturally objected, but our painter settled the matter by donating it to the Brotherhood whose constitution forbade the rejection of a gift. As a result he was admitted into the organization, and there he stayed. Sixty of his paintings cover the halls and the church of the Scuola di S. Rocco, all done in the inimitable style of this artist. It is only here that we may learn to know the master at his best. We behold thousands of figures, blazing beams of light, halos breaking forth from deep shadows and an accumulation of perspective effects as though from the hand

of a Titan; indeed, they seem like visions of another world. It is in the Scuola di San Rocco that Tintoretto appears as a modern painter, the impressionist admired by Rembrandt and Velasquez and the master of the young man, newly arrived from Crete, who was to be known as El Greco. Tintoretto and El Greco are names which form the connecting link between two great schools of painting. Here is the explanation of how the Italian art of the Renaissance, in its last important stage, inspired men of another land and race. The closer our acquaintance with the history of artistic production, the more we see a definite connection between its various trends and movements.



Fig. 315. — Tintoretto. Assumption of the Virgin. *(Academy.)* VENICE.

We cannot give even to Tintoretto's more important works the space devoted to Titian and some of the other masters. As a matter of fact, one does not remember them one by one so much as a single great unity in style, lighting and method of composition. Sometimes they are correct, academic and self-contained as in the case of the lovely compositions in the Anticollegio of the Palace of the Doges (fig. 314); these are almost like those of Veronese. In others, although they adhere to established standards, there is agitation, a radiant convulsion of tempestuous forms. In this connection it is interesting to compare the typically Venetian Assumption of Titian with that of Tintoretto, both in the Venetian Academy (fig. 315). But when Tintoretto is left to himself, we might say, as in S. Maria dell'Orto or the Scuola di San Rocco, he completely forgets the atmosphere and light of this world of ours and illuminates his figures with slanting rays which fall in the most unexpected fashion upon figures enveloped in shadow (fig. 316). Then it is that his wild magic performs prodigies. In the Last Supper in S. Giorgio Maggiore the entire atmosphere of the hall is filled with luminous clouds among which angels can be faintly distinguished. The Saviour radiates light as do the heads of the disciples, and there is a lamp as well. And yet it is all so real that the beholder asks himself to what world he has been transported.

Toward the end of his life Tintoretto was commissioned to paint an enormous representation of Paradise. It is said to be the largest painting on canvas



Fig. 316. — Tintoretto. The Annunciation. *(Scuola di S. Rocco.)* Venice.

in existence, being seventy-four feet long and thirty wide. A stupendous work containing hundreds of figures, it is so removed from every tradition of art that those whose spirits are fettered by academic standards consider it a piece of eccentricity and nothing more. All Venice admired it, however, when it was completed, and it still fills us with amazement. No one but a man of such ardent genius and dynamic force would have had the audacity to attack the problem upon such a colossal scale. It seems that after Michelangelo's Last Judgment no one had attempted anything of the sort. Tintoretto may not surpass Michelangelo in profundity of sentiment, but at least there is more movement and a greater number of figures. In the Paradise we have a varied and complicated impression of mankind which is not found in the gigantic composition of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel.

Tintoretto's Paradise was his last work; he died in 1594 at the age of seventy-five and was buried at the side of his daughter, Marietta. She, too, had been a portrait-painter of considerable merit as well as a good singer, and although she had married a Venetian jeweller, she was always the companion and favorite of her father.

Contemporary with these great masters, from the time of Giorgione down to the end of the century, there were other artists working in Venice. Here they were only men of second rank, obscured as they were by comparison with the extraordinary painters whom we have been discussing. In another city



Fig. 317.—Bonifazio. A Concert. Anecdotal painting. VENICE.



Fig. 318.—Lorenzo Lotto. Bride and Bridegroom. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 319. — Moroni. A Lawyer.
(National Gallery.) LONDON.

and at another period, however, they would have been considered men of outstanding merit. Such were the good Vivarini who painted groups of saints affectionately engaged in pious colloquy and the delicate Bonifazio, a painter of concerts and conversations (fig. 317). The most interesting of these, perhaps, was Lorenzo Lotto. He formed his style in Venice, but he worked principally at Rome. He was born in 1480. In him was something of the esthetic delicacy of Giorgione, and he never lost his youthful feeling and sentiment. He travelled many years, painting and studying; in Rome he saw Raphael's school imposing its academic formulas upon art, and in the Adriatic provinces he observed the rare beauty of Correggio's pictures. In 1526 or shortly after he returned to Venice, but he was now too old and experienced to be greatly affected by anyone else, however great a painter he might be. Thus it was that Titian, now at the height of his fame, did not impair Lotto's individuality. Lotto could not forget Correggio, and he continued to display the deep feeling of the master of Parma. It is a pity not to reproduce more of his works; the picture of the Bride and Bridegroom, now in Madrid (fig. 318), will give the reader some idea of the sweetness and delicacy which we find in all of Lotto's compositions.

Also born in Bergamo, but a little younger than Lotto, Giovanni Battista Moroni was the great portrait-painter of the time. We have no very detailed account of his life. It has been said that Moroni studied in Titian's studio, but this story rests only upon the current tradition that Titian praised Moroni's portraits saying that they were most faithful. Indeed, Moroni left a series of portraits which still live. (Plate XXII.) The visitor to the European galleries, after tiring his eyes looking at great pictures, suddenly comes upon one of Moroni's figures, an actual person emerging from the past

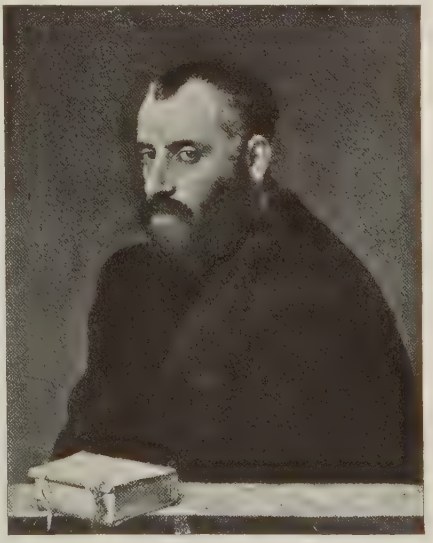


Fig. 320. — Moroni. A Humanist.
(Uffizi Gallery.) FLORENCE.



Moroni. A Tailor. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.



Fig. 321. — Tiepolo. Rinaldo and Armida. *(Art Institute of Chicago.)*

with a reality that startles the beholder (figs. 319 and 320). In his old age Moroni was induced to attempt religious compositions; he even began a Last Judgment upon which he was at work when he died in 1578. We hardly need comment that Moroni is an excellent example of how untrue to himself an artist can be when led astray by public demand.

By the end of the Sixteenth Century this long period of artistic effort seemed to have exhausted the Venetian school, but the Eighteenth Century was to produce one more talented painter. This was Tiepolo who executed the delicate and beautiful decorative paintings in the throne-room in the Royal Palace at Madrid. Tiepolo's specialty was the production of great scenic effects, of lighting and perspective. His frescoes at Madrid are as clear and brilliant as though the ceiling had opened disclosing figures and allegories in the clouds above; indeed, they are an excellent example of his style. But to see Tiepolo at his best we must go to Venice and view the decorations of the Rezzonico and Labia palaces. The halls of these patrician homes are decorated with façades and magnificent porticos beneath which grave personages converse with one another. In the backgrounds are perspective effects; the apartment itself is apparently enlarged by these paintings until it seems to end in a distant horizon of light (fig. 321).

Summary. — Venetian painting began about the end of the Fifteenth Century with Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. The latter was a painter of peaceful Madonnas; his coloring is both luminous and brilliant. He was the master of Carpaccio, an artist of distinction who painted marvelous representations of the stories of the saints. About the same time two new painters, Giorgione and Titian, inaugurated a school of painting. Giorgione died young; only a dozen of his authentic works are now known. Nevertheless, he was the originator of most of the themes which Titian developed with such genius. The latter was a native of Cadore in the Venetian Alps, and his coloring reflects the light and atmosphere of the country about his home. He worked chiefly for Charles V and Philip II. Contemporaries of Titian's long old age were Veronese and Tintoretto. The former loved to paint great dramatic apotheoses, and the latter was the creator of a light and atmosphere never before imagined. In the Eighteenth Century Venice produced her last great artist, Tiepolo, who is famous for his magnificent decorations.

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Fig. 322. — Carpaccio. Angel musician. *(Venetian Academy.)*

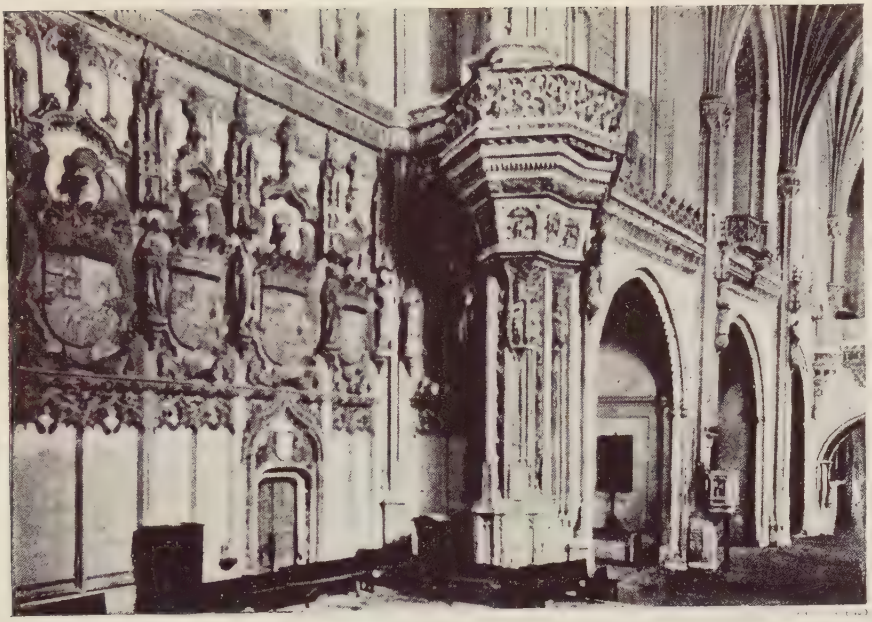


Fig. 323. — Interior of San Juan de los Reyes. Toledo.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPANISH RENAISSANCE. — MUDEJAR AND FLAMBOYANT ARCHITECTURE UNDER FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. — THE PLATERESQUE AND GRECO-ROMAN STYLES. SPANISH SCULPTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — MINOR ARTS.

About the end of the Fifteenth Century Spain was invaded by a considerable number of foreign artists. In spite of their intense patriotism, Ferdinand and Isabella invited and employed Flemish and German architects and decorators to direct the work on their new buildings. Sculptors and wood-carvers also came from Burgundy and Northern France; during the reign of Charles V large numbers of Italians arrived as well and were hospitably received. Twentieth-century Spain, which makes such a show of rejecting everything foreign, might well recall the days when she absorbed and assimilated every current of European Renaissance art to her own advantage and without losing anything of her own national character.

In but one field do we find any resistance to this foreign invasion. This was the Neo-Moslem art known in Spain under the name of Mudejar and cultivated principally by the "Morisco" population. This style, which is still employed in Northern Morocco and called Andalusian, survived in Spain throughout the Sixteenth Century. Indeed, it finally influenced even the German and Flemish artists who had established themselves in Castile. For furniture, carved ceilings

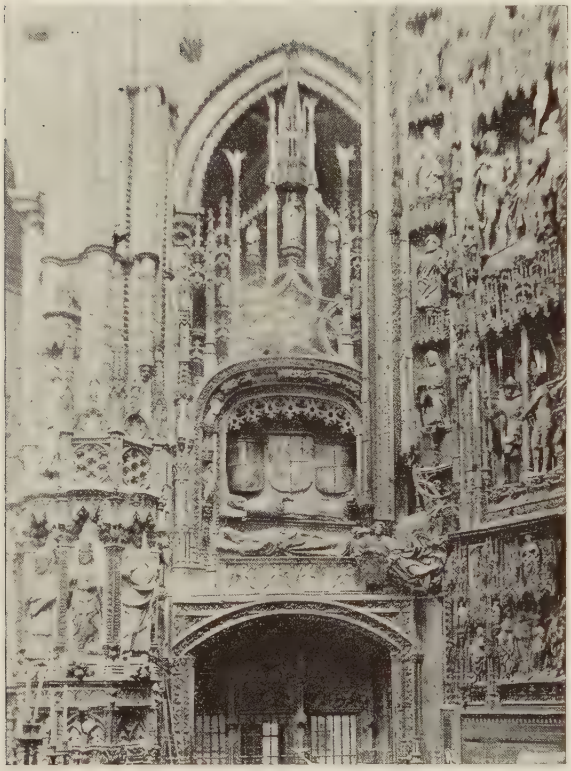


Fig. 324. — Chapel of the Reyes viejos. Toledo.

and other wood-work of a decorative character this was the only style in vogue, and it was employed especially in stucco-work. To give some idea of the deep root taken by the Mudejar style we have only to cite a treatise called *Carpintería de lo blanco* by Diego López de Arenas. It is filled with cuts, many of them of intricate Mudejar designs, and was so popular that it was reprinted in 1727 when the baroque style was at its height, and again in 1867.

We can readily understand, therefore, that this hybrid Spanish style would find much favor with architects and decorators during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when artists were hesitating between the old and the new. We see its influence, not only in the ambitious undertakings of the monarchs, but also in those of the nobility. Diego López' treatise was followed in the restorations of the Alcázar at Seville, the rebuilt Aljaferia at Saragossa and especially in the ceilings and monumental cornices of the palace of the Duke del Infantado at Guadalajara. Not even in old Moslem Spain, in the Alhambra, or in Persia and India do we find in such profusion these interwoven designs combined with bands of inscriptions.

Especially popular were the mottos containing personal allusions; the Castilian loved to cover his ceilings and walls with high-sounding inscriptions. Façades were profusely adorned with scutcheons borne by figures of Hercules in pairs, or by eagles in the case of the arms of royalty. These were set over the doorways and windows and surrounded by bands of mouldings and interwoven patterns of a sort of Saracenic Gothic style. Indeed, the decorative elements were still Gothic, like the mouldings, but they were interwoven like the Mudejar tracery. As we have already noted, even the great foreign artists, the architects and sculptors whose royal patronage should have kept them apart from popular art, were strongly influenced by this Mudejar style. They adopted the principles of Oriental decorative art and interwove and superimposed their motives as did the Morisco decorators. These foreigners came chiefly from Burgundy and Flan-

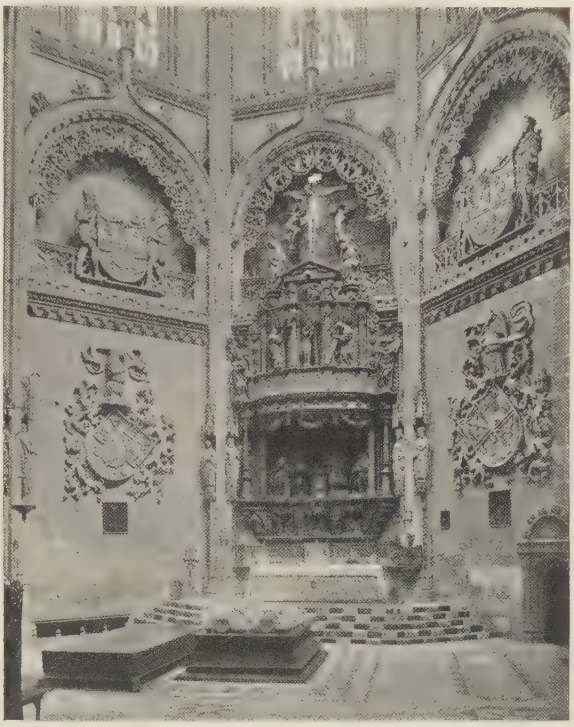


Fig. 325. — Chapel of the Condestable.

ders where Gothic architecture was in its last phase, the so-called flamboyant style. Mouldings were closely interwoven in an undulating tracery, pilasters were superimposed one above another, and pinnacle surmounted pinnacle in the most bewildering manner. All this naturally prepared their minds for the Oriental Gothic forms of Spain and made their later work seem so typically Spanish in character. We know but little of the men whose names are linked with the great structures built under Ferdinand and Isabella: Egas, Güas, Colonia and Siloe, as they are called in Spain. Enrique Egas, the son of the Flemish Jan van der Eyken, seems to have been highly trusted by the monarchs. He appraised and inspected the various architectural undertakings before payments were made from the royal treasury. We are ignorant of the part he took in the work personally; he had a hand in almost everything, but nothing can positively be ascribed to him. He seems to have been responsible for the new cathedral at Salamanca, the last Gothic cathedral in Spain, which was begun in 1512. The work was interrupted a number of times and was not resumed until 1560. It is interesting to recall that when the canons met to decide whether it was to be continued in the Gothic style or the Greco-Roman, then so popular, the majority, and among them Herrera who built the Escorial, voted to complete it according to the original plan and thus preserve its unity.

This was not the case in Granada which had been conquered from the Moors after so long a struggle. Naturally there was no cathedral in this Moslem city, so Egas planned a Gothic structure and the foundations were laid according to his ideas. The Emperor, Charles V, would have completed it along these lines, but to the Chapter it seemed altogether too old fashioned and they commissioned Diego de Siloe to finish the building in the Renaissance style. The same was true of the cathedrals of Jaén and Málaga. Here, too, the modern tendencies of the canons prevailed.

Of the brothers, Enrique and Juan Güas, it is not even known whether they



Fig. 326.—Doorway of the palace of the Duke of Osuna at Marchena, now in the Alcázar at Seville.

were Spaniards or foreigners. The name, Güas, may be an adaptation of the Flemish Waas. Both are believed to have been the architects of the palace of the Duke del Infantado at Guadalajara judging by an inscription in the court. An inscription on the tomb of Juan de Güas tells us that he built San Juan de los Reyes. This is the marvelous royal chapel at Toledo which is covered with the monograms of Ferdinand and Isabella surmounted by crowns. There are also mottos and the royal arms borne by enormous eagles (fig. 323). The monarchs had intended this chapel for their burial place, but they afterwards decided in favor of Granada, the city for which they strove so many years. Posterity, however, came to regard San Juan de los Reyes as the true royal pantheon. Its white stone decorations should have been colored and gilded. We should see the great black eagles and the red and gold of the Spanish monarchy. Although we have the cathedrals of Granada, Salamanca, Málaga and Jaén, this period was not noted for its church building activities. The enormous Gothic cathedrals of the cities of Central Spain more than sufficed for their needs. The activities of the monarchs, therefore, were confined to the erection of chapels, usually with a single nave, in connection with some Franciscan monastery which had sheltered the royal guests, such as Santo Tomás at Avila. Nor did the court notables build separate mausoleums. They opened chapels in the apses of the old cathedrals in which they displayed a wealth of ornamentation which has never since been surpassed. Such a chapel in the apse of the cathedral of Toledo contains the tomb of the famous Cardinal Mendoza, the predecessor of the great Cisneros as the favorite of Ferdinand and Isabella. The latter made use of two partly abandoned chapels containing a number of royal tombs. These were set into spacious niches in the walls, not unlike the berths of a ship's cabin, while the Cardinal's sepulchre occupied the centre (fig. 324). Nevertheless, the Cardinal's pantheon is still called the Capilla de los Reyes viejos, or the Chapel of the Old Kings. The walls are all covered with a flamboyant tracery of stone filled with interesting figures.

But even this profusion of mouldings and reliefs is surpassed in the so-

called Chapel of the Condestable in the cathedral of Burgos. It was constructed by Doña Mencia de Mendoza, the wife of the Condestable, Hernández de Velasco, during the years her husband spent in the Granada campaign. The chapel projects from the main cathedral like a smaller separate monument; indeed, its cupola is as much a part of the outline of the structure as are the towers of the façade or the lantern over the crossing. Its builder, Simon de Colonia, was the son of a certain Hans of Cologne who had directed the work on the cathedral itself in 1466.

In Simon's work on this chapel we find all the good taste of the flamboyant architecture of Burgundy and Germany combined with the utmost magnificence (fig. 325). The tomb in the centre is a handsome sarcophagus upon which rest the figures of the Condestable and his wife. The general composition of the chapel is much more rational than that of the Mendoza Chapel at Toledo. The walls are decorated with splendid stone scutcheons, and around the upper part extends a beautiful gallery. The altar-pieces, which are also of stone, are the work of one of Simon's collaborators, a certain Gil de Siloe, to whom Queen Isabella later entrusted the decoration of the burial chapel of her parents, John II and Isabel of Portugal, in the Cartuja de Miraflores.



Fig. 327. — Hospital de Santa Cruz. Toledo.

Egas, Güas, Siloe and Simon de Colonia were the most prominent artists during the reign of their Catholic Majesties. Their names are linked with great works, but none of them evokes the memory of a well known personality. We are practically ignorant as to who they were; only in their work do we discern



Figs. 328 and 329.—Façade of the University of Salamanca and detail showing medallion of Ferdinand and Isabella.

their imagery and the profound national spirit with which they were moved. Here in Castile they found a generation eager for greatness and magnificence.

If we observe with care the monuments reproduced on these pages, we shall see that there is little or nothing of the classical forms which characterize the Italian Renaissance. They appear to be rather a Castilian adaptation of the national art of Burgundy which was almost outside the field of what we call the Renaissance. But we note the same hesitation in literature, and still we have always considered the Marquis de Santillana and the Marquis de Villena to be two of the precursors of the Renaissance, although at times they dress and speak like men of the Middle Ages. The old *Cancioneros,* or collections of songs which date from the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella are extremely interesting. Here, particularly in the song of Gato or that of Baena, we find imitations of Petrarch mixed with the traditional Castilian satires and lyrics.

Notwithstanding, we find this combination of Mudejar and Burgundian Gothic art accompanied by a new style that belongs to Spain alone. This is the plateresque which is at once most original in character and yet entirely in keeping with the Spanish spirit. The origin of this style of decoration is rather obscure; the name is derived from the word *platero*, or silversmith, for it is an

application of the forms employed in metal-work to architecture. According to some, it was Enrique de Egas who first learned the decorative technique of the Italian marble-workers, especially Lombards who came to Spain to sell tombs or carve reliefs. He is supposed to have applied the motives they used to his own compositions which followed the lines of the Burgundian style. Other students believe that Egas was inspired by a German goldsmith known as Enrique de Arfe who settled in Castile at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. The skill and reputation of the latter were such that he was commissioned to make a large number of crosses and monstrances for the great cathedrals and collegiate churches of Castile.



PHOTO THOMAS

Fig. 330. — Tower of the palace of Monterrey. SALAMANCA.

The works of Enrique de Arfe were very fine. His monstrances are not merely receptacles of precious metal; they are little edifices of gold and silver. The one at Toledo weighs over four hundred pounds and its buttresses and arches contain more than two hundred and sixty statuettes. (Plate XXVI.) We can readily understand how these little structures executed by a goldsmith would interest an architect like Egas whose excessive ornamentation already tended to transform his buildings into gems of stone. And yet it seems strange that a single artist was able to originate a new style all by himself; it is contrary to all the laws of art, for a new repertory of forms is practically always found to be the result of evolution. Nevertheless, one of the first and most characteristic examples of the plateresque style was the façade of the Hospital de la Santa Cruz at Toledo which was begun by Enrique de Egas in 1504 to carry out the provisions of the will of the famous Cardinal Mendoza (fig. 327). The doorway is flanked by pilasters which continue into



Fig. 331.—Façade of the University of Alcalá.

the curve of the archivolt, while above is a little temple with statuettes and candelabra. It is just the sort of thing a goldsmith might have done. The same is true of the two windows on either side. They seem to be composed of elements of wrought metal finished with an engravers' tool and assembled so as to form a miniature stone frame.

To Egas is also ascribed the façade of the University of Salamanca which is like a tapestry in stone. It is decorated entirely with scutcheons and grotesque forms (figs. 328 and 329). The double doorway below is surmounted by flattened arches. Their mouldings and outline are still Gothic; their flat curves heighten the effect of magnitude of the relief above, which is divided into panels by pilasters and friezes. At the top are crests interrupted by candelabra very similar to those with which a goldsmith would finish off a monstrance. The reliefs resemble those of a piece of silver repoussé (fig. 329).

The decorative themes of plateresque architecture are principally Lombard; it is the style of ornamentation employed in the neighborhood of Milan about the end of the Fifteenth Century. First of all we see columns whose shafts thicken in a convex curve in the middle and with collars above and below, like those of the Carthusian monastery at Pavia and similar monuments at Milan. The arabesques also recall the Lombard ornamentation rather than the Roman. The niches are vaulted with pendentives; the pedestals and panels and especially the ornamental candelabra which surmount the pilasters are liberally interspersed with scroll-work. It is a mistake, therefore, to say that the forms of this plateresque style, which are really derived only from Fifteenth-century Lombard art, resulted from the work of a German goldsmith like Enrique Arfe who em-

ployed only Gothic forms in his monstrances. He and his son Juan de Arfe called it "modern work" to distinguish it from that of the Renaissance which was in imitation of classical antiquity. Juan de Arfe, who was also a famous goldsmith, wrote in verse a eulogy of his father's work. He admits that the latter employed the Gothic style. As a matter of fact it displays all the decorative forms of the period and no doubt contributed to the inspiration of Egas and the other architects of the time. But we cannot explain the origin of the Spanish plateresque without noting that the Lombard art of Italy was an important factor.



Fig. 332. — Window of the house of Ponce de León. JEREZ.

But who was the Italian artist who came to Castile, or who was the Castilian who went to Lombardy to learn the Milanese style, before Herrera and Berruguete brought to Spain the Roman technique of Michelangelo's school? The question still remains unanswered, and it is the more interesting, when we consider the fact that the plateresque developed alongside of the Greco-Roman and prepared the way, after a fashion, for the baroque style.

For a long time the plateresque altered only in its decorative elements. The vaults preserved the flamboyant Gothic type with its network of groins; only on the pendants, or suspended keystones, do we find repeated the reliefs and mouldings employed on the façade. In the cathedral of Granada and the Lonja at Saragossa we still find Gothic vaults and the lofty columns and doorways are completely in the plateresque style. In the Lonja at Saragossa we are surprised to see in the tall shafts which support the vaults of the great hall the same outlines as in the little columns of the gold and silver monstrances. Halfway up is a collar and a broad Ionic capital supporting the groins, and at the springers of the arches are Cupids and scutcheons.

It is chiefly on the façades of the buildings that we note the Renaissance style. This is true of the marvelous palace of Monterrey at Salamanca which was not completed. If it had been finished with its four façades as originally planned, it would have been, possibly, the finest private palace in the world. Built by the Count of Monterrey, former Viceroy of Mexico, on its façade are three towers which terminate in a cresting like that of a goldsmith. On the two lower stories of the wings the wall-space and windows are plain. All the sculptural decorations are tastefully concentrated on the loggia of the second story and



Fig. 333. — Church of San Cristóbal. Almorox. Toledo.

the cresting above (fig. 330).

Having received its inspiration from the Lombard decorators, the Spanish plateresque style absorbed and assimilated the foreign elements which it had taken over. It continued to employ the complicated shafts and ornamental candelabra, the shields surrounded by garlands, medallions and niches. But the decorations came to be grouped more and more on certain portions of the façade, and the old austere spirit of Castile delighted in large plain wall-spaces separated only by bands of mouldings. This concentration of ornament appears on the façade of the University of Alcalá which contrasts strongly with that of Salamanca covered as it is with arabesques. The façade of the University of Alcalá consists of a central body flanked by columns of questionable taste, but the only reliefs are the legitimate ornamentation of the window on the second story and the scutcheon of Charles V on the third (fig. 331). On either side is but a single window modestly decorated with reliefs, and above, an open gallery like that of the palace of Monterrey. It appears to be the work of Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón. The structure was commenced in 1540 and completed in its present form in 1553.

By the middle of the Sixteenth Century the Castilian Renaissance had come to its own. As an example let us examine the little rural church of San Cristóbal de Almorox in the Province of Toledo (figs. 333 and 334). How Spanish it is, in the whole and in detail! The decoration is grouped entirely beneath the arch over the portico of the façade. Inside is a beautiful door in the plateresque style surmounted by reliefs in the purest Spanish style. The plain masonry of the remainder of the façade is the best foil imaginable for this elaborate doorway.

Still more progress in classical forms is seen in the Casas Consistoriales at Seville (fig. 335), although it is still plateresque. It was begun in 1527 under the

direction of a certain Diego de Riaño and was still in process of construction in 1564. It is the most characteristic example in Spain of the second phase of the plateresque style in which no traces of Gothic decorative forms remain. But in the interior we still find pointed vaults, a network of groins as well as the bands of garlands, shields and Cupids on the outer façades and in the court. If we compare this palace in Seville with the Hospital of Santa Cruz at Toledo (fig. 327), we see the extent to which the plateresque style became Italianized in the course of only thirty years. It is evident that Italian workmen must have been employed on the Casas Consistoriales of Seville, but the building as a whole remained quite Spanish in character. The structure is still a monument to the Golden Age of Seville, when the conquerors of the New World made it the gateway to the Indies.



Fig. 334.—Façade of the church of San Cristóbal. Almorox. Toledo.

Spanish life everywhere was about to undergo a great change in consequence of the Italian Wars and the conquest of America. Instead of the fortified mediaeval residences we begin to see universities, colleges, palaces of the nobles and town halls with great courts decorated as richly as were the façades. Even the cloisters of the monasteries were embellished with carvings like goldsmith's work. Their balustrades of stone seem to be of wrought metal as do their archivolts with medallions, scrolls, great jars and candelabra, all carved in relief, to say nothing of the Cupids, garlands and the like (fig. 336). The same is true of the smaller monuments such as boundary crosses, fountains and even the pillories for evil-doers which stood in the town squares. Here, too, we find the same plateresque ornamentation, candelabra, scrolls and little columns (fig. 337).

While the great nobles were building sumptuous residences like the palace of the Duke del Infantado at Guadalajara, that of the Monterrey family at Salamanca and the Mendoza palace at Toledo, there was not in all Castile a royal palace befitting the glory achieved through the discovery of America. Ferdinand and Isabella resided in castles like that of La Mota near Medina del Campo or in the royal apartments of the monastery of San Juan at Avila and those adjoining the Hospital Real in Santiago which they had built there. When they were



PHOTO HAUSER AND MENET

Fig. 335. — Doorway of the Ayuntamiento. SEVILLE.

in Granada they probably occupied the Alhambra; we know at least that they spent large sums in preserving and restoring the old Moorish palace.

Charles V, however, soon felt the necessity of a palace befitting his rank and position. His first undertaking in this respect was to begin a new palace in the gardens of the Alhambra adjoining the famous Moslem alcázar. The architect, Pedro de Machuca, was a Spaniard who had been educated in Italy and had studied the style of Bramante and Raphael at Rome (figure 338). The arrangement of the building is characteristic of the Roman school of architecture; it is a square structure with a circular court in the centre and two stories of columns. We are reminded of the semicircular court of the villa of Pope Julius II at Rome and the one in the Farnese Palace at Caprarola. But the great palace of Charles V at Granada was never completed. The upper gallery of the court was never even roofed. Here Pedro Machuca seemed oblivious of his own country. He seems never to have even glanced at the marvels of Moorish architecture, a few steps away from the new undertaking. A convert to Italian ideas, he thought only of what he had seen in Rome. When he died toward the middle of the Century, the imperial palace of the Alhambra was far from complete. Luis Machuca, his son, went on with his father's work, but the gigantic structure was not destined to be finished. The outer wall is most regular in design, indeed, it is monotonous with its windows all the same size. But the plain portion of the façade with its great doorway and windows is not lacking in dignity.

The palace of Charles V at Granada was the first to be built in the Italian style in central Spain. It is so different and offers such a contrast to the typical Spanish plateresque that a new name was felt necessary, and Spanish writers

on architecture, to whom it seemed more classical than anything else in the Peninsula, conceived the rather unfortunate idea of christening it Greco-Roman, a name about as unsuitable as the term, Latin-Byzantine, which has until lately been applied to the neo-Visigothic art of Asturias. There is nothing Greek about the style of the palace of Charles V; it might be called Roman, or better still, Roman-Renaissance.

About the same time the Emperor began the reconstruction of the Alcázar at Toledo which was to be a work of national importance. The Greco-Roman style was not destined to succeed, set as the Emperor was on reproducing Italian architecture in Spain (fig. 339).



Fig. 336. — Main cloister of the Monastery of Lupiana. GUADALAJARA.

The architect of the Alcázar at Toledo found it difficult to be unmindful of the traditions of his own land. His name was Alfonso de Covarrubias. The son-in-law and successor of Enrique Egas, he could not help falling back into the plateresque. The Toledan Alcázar has a more conventional form than the fanciful Roman palace on the hill of the Alhambra. It is rectangular and at the corners are four graceful towers. Set upon a height dominating the river and city, it is a monument of extraordinary magnificence. It seems a pity that poor old Toledo was not destined to enjoy a future in keeping with this palace. It needs splendid open spaces to set it off. As it is, it is engulfed in this city of ancient houses and monuments. But if the traveller can only bring himself to forget Toledo's reduced estate as he enters the noble court with its simple lack of affectation, he is impressed by its historical majesty as by few other monuments in all the world. The details of the doorway, its arms and scutcheons, and those of the



Fig. 337.—Picota in the square of Almorox. TOLEDO

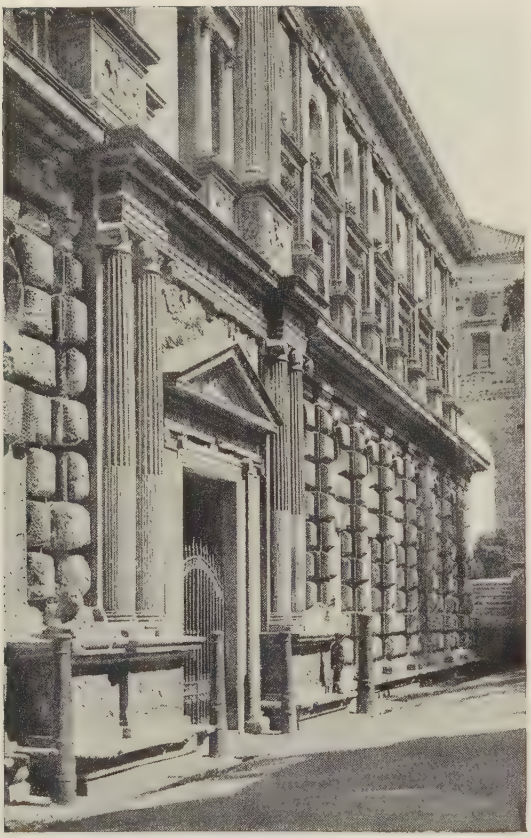


PHOTO HAUSER AND MENET

Fig. 338. — Palace of Charles V. *Alhambra.*

windows and court as well are the plateresque designs, not of a goldsmith, but of an architect who understands large masses as well as detail.

The façade of the Alcázar planned by Covarrubias has the general arrangement of all the plateresque palaces. The two lower stories are pierced by windows, and along the third runs a loggia, or gallery. But at Toledo the openings of the gallery alternate with smooth wall-spaces which give the upper portion of the structure an air of solidity and severity. Covarrubias did not complete the work; only the façade and the court can be ascribed to him. After his death the work was continued by an Italian from Bergamo known in Spain as Juan Francisco Castello, who constructed the south gallery. This part of the building, however, has been ascribed by some either to Herrera or to Francisco Villalpando who built the monumental stairway occupying one entire wing of the court. Indeed, the latter is one of the most singular features of the Alcázar at Toledo.

At the same time another alcázar, or palace, was being erected at Madrid on approximately the site now occupied by the Royal Palace. It was destroyed by a fire, however, and few descriptions have come down to us of this structure. In all probability it was not as sumptuous as the one at Toledo, which was the official residence of the court and the capital of the kingdom. Madrid did not become the capital until later. This same need and desire of the kings of united Spain to have residences in the centre of the Peninsula was responsible for the construction of what later became the palaces of Aranjuez and El Pardo. These were at first simple hunting lodges and it was only in the Seventeenth Century that they grew into summer palaces.

But all these royal undertakings were eclipsed by the gigantic palace-pantheon constructed by Philip II and called the Escorial. The work was begun in 1563 and completed in 1584. During these twenty years a terrace was levelled off on the slope of a spur of the Guadarrama and a building erected which,



Fig. 339.—The Alcázar at Toledo.

both for its size and the unity of its style, is one of the wonders of the world. Greater monuments exist, it is true, such as the Louvre and the Vatican; but these grew slowly, they are the work of different periods, and have not the vigor which is the effect only of a uniform plan. In this the Escorial excels. It is nearly all built of granite taken from the mountain itself. The desolate crests of the surrounding ridges and the endless slope descending to the plain below, everything contributes to produce the same impression and responds to the same note: climate, atmosphere and the sky above, as well as the hard rock of the Castilian plateau and the inflexible spirit of Philip II, all have their part in the attainment of that astounding unity which we find in the Escorial (fig. 340). The most remarkable thing about it is that the two principal architects of this typically Spanish monument were new arrivals from Italy who had come with the purpose of imitating the latest achievements of the Roman school of the Renaissance.

The first architect of the Escorial, the one who deserves the credit for its general plan and the initiation of the undertaking, was a certain Juan Bautista de Toledo who had worked at Naples under the illustrious Viceroy Pedro de Toledo. Here he had begun the task of cutting a new and important thoroughfare through a crowded quarter of that city. This alone shows him to have been a man capable of city planning, and on the Escorial he displayed his ability to exercise his talents on a much greater scale. The entire monumental composition has a rectangular outline from which only the royal apartments project. The church-pantheon lies on the central axis, and on either side are symmetrically distributed the courts, offices, monastery, library, and picture-gallery. In spite of his well known austerity of character, it was the desire of Philip II to make of the structure not only a royal pantheon but also a national storehouse of art and letters. Here he brought Arab manuscripts which Cisneros had not consigned to the flames and the Greek codices of Antonio Augustin, Diego



Fig. 340. — General view of the Escorial.

Hurtado de Mendoza and the University of Bessarion at Messina. But with all its accumulation of literary and artistic treasures the Escorial was first of all a royal mausoleum with its temple and other adjuncts like those of ancient Egypt.

Juan Bautista de Toledo, the first architect, died in 1567 before the work had progressed very far, and although he was succeeded for a time by the Italian from Bergamo who had worked on the Alcázar at Toledo, the man who really carried out the task was Herrera. He had been employed on the structure from its beginning. The new architect had also been in Italy, it is true, but not as a practising architect like Juan Bautista de Toledo. First, last and all the time he was a Spaniard, and his manner of emphasizing the various details was decisive in fixing the character of the monument. The façade is nothing but a great smooth granite wall flanked with a tower at either end which remains flush with the outline of the structure, so we have no projecting elements at all. The plain rectangular windows, embellished with neither moulding nor cornice, follow one another in endless succesion.



Fig. 341. — Herrera. Church of the Escorial.

Only at the gateway in the centre is the austerity of the façade relieved by eight Doric pilasters supporting an upper story of four smaller pilasters surmounted by a pediment. Beyond the first gallery is the court which forms an approach to the church. Here the confined surroundings demand a different treatment; the severity, which on the exterior is compensated by its magnitude, would give the effect of meanness in this court. Here Herrera or his predecessor applied their knowledge of the classical Greco-Roman style to the façade of the church, but without abandoning the Doric order. The mouldings and windows are extremely plain, and the only sculptural embellishment is the series of the six kings of Judah set on high pedestals above the entablature of the first story (fig. 341).

In the interior the same Doric forms are unhesitatingly followed. Great pilasters rise to the springers of the vaults. There is no stucco or marble covering, only the regular granite blocks which give the church the air of a mausoleum (fig. 342). Herrera doubtless took for his models the exterior of the apse of St. Peter's at Rome and the gigantic columns of Palladio and Sanmichele, but he robbed the latter of their ornamentation and simplified his cornices and mouldings. And yet the church of the Escorial, with its tall Doric pilasters, its broad architraves relieved only by triglyphs, and its well balanced proportions, is worthy of being numbered among the most important examples of Renaissance architecture. Bramante himself could have



Fig. 342. — Façade of the church. *Escorial.*



Fig. 343.—Chapel of the Four Evangelists. *Escorial.*



Fig. 344. — Herrera. House of José Lacalle. Plasencia.

created nothing more noble and imposing. Elsewhere in the Escorial Herrera was not so original; Italian forms reappear which lack the inspiration of the façade and the church. The chapel in the Court of the Evangelists and the corner where it is set constitute an attempt to strike a more cheerful note, but the result is rather mournful in spite of the pools and formal gardens. The architecture of the cloisters and the chapel is but a half successful attempt in the Greco-Roman style (fig. 343).

Herrera's work on the Escorial was much admired, and we find a testimony to his fame in the prologue of the little book by Juan de Arfe written about the end of the Sixteenth Century. We read: "The marvelous temple of the Escorial stands out for the manner in which it follows the rules of ancient architecture. Hence, in sumptuousness, perfection and magnificence it rivals the most famous buildings constructed by the Greeks, Romans and Asiatics. It follows the laws and orders of Vitruvius, abandoning as vanities the petty projections, reversed pyramids, brackets and other foolish things usually seen on Flemish and French papers and prints with which artists adorn (or rather ruin) their work without preserving either proportion or significance."

During the reign of Philip II Herrera enjoyed a sort of artistic dictatorship as royal inspector of monuments. It was a position similar to that filled by Enrique de Egas under Ferdinand and Isabella, but we may well believe that he ruled with a heavier hand than did good Egas who still had Flemish blood in his veins. Herrera, who seems to have fought in the Italian campaigns, had almost a military organization at the Escorial; his letters and other writings are always curt and precise. Twice a week he called upon the King who had issued an order that Herrera should pass on the plans of all the public buildings to be erected in Spain. The personal efforts of the latter were confined almost entirely

to the Escorial; he hardly ever condescended to undertake anything else. Consequently it is of more than ordinary interest to see in the little house of José Lacalle at Plasencia the austere Greco-Roman style of Herrera applied to a private residence (fig. 344). Also ascribed to Herrera are the Segovia Bridge at Madrid, the cathedral of Valladolid and the plan of the Lonja at Seville.



PHOTO VIDAL

Fig. 345. — Court of the Colegio del Patriarca. Valencia.

As we have already noted, the Greco-Roman style of Herrera in Central Spain possessed nothing of the Greek and little of the Roman; nevertheless, it was unhesitatingly followed by that architect's pupils and imitators. Especially at Madrid, in both public buildings and private houses does this façade arrangement of towers at the corners and without mouldings reappear constantly until the baroque comes into fashion. The Plaza Mayor and the Palacio del Ayuntamiento, the work of Juan Gómez de Mora, date from the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. The same is true of the palace now occupied by the Ministerio de Estado and not a few of the monasteries and churches like the Descalzas Reales, while at Toledo we have the Casa Ayuntamiento, the work of the son of El Greco, and many other buildings.

Out in the provinces the vogue of the Greco-Roman style was not so great. Consequently all through the Sixteenth Century we still find the plateresque which was more national in character and, with its profuse ornamentation, much more adapted to the taste of the country which has always inclined somewhat toward ostentation. In Valencia alone, a city which had already in the Fifteenth Century borne witness to its traditional love for everything Italian, do we find architecture following the pure classical taste as in the Colegio del Patriarca (fig. 345). In Catalonia, where the Renaissance was unwillingly accepted at best, we find the corporations resisting any invasion of style from Castile. As for the nobles, their various interests had gradually drawn them away to the centre of the Peninsula. What intellectual activity there still was expended itself in futile discussions. For this reason the Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals of Catalonia remained intact, little spoiled by plateresque restorations and embellishments, until the arrival of the baroque. In Barcelona the work on the Palacio de la Generalidad still followed the Gothic style, although it was interpreted in a rather unusual manner. The magnificent ceilings are of Castilian splendor, and the walls and floors gleam with the brightly glazed tiles of Seville.

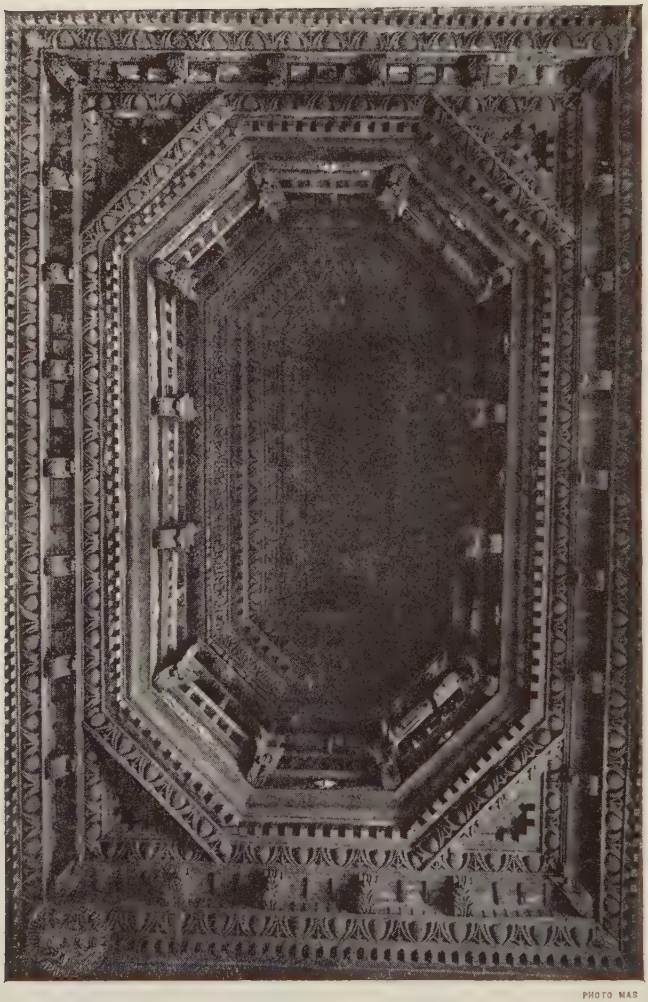


PHOTO MAS

Fig. 346. — Palace of the Kings of Aragon. Ceiling over the grand stairway. BARCELONA.

Of the same period is the structure adjoining the old royal palace which now houses the Archives of the Crown of Aragon. Its handsome stairway and rich ceiling constitute one of the finest examples of plateresque carving in Spain (fig. 346). Certainly it was intended to be gilded and colored, which would have produced a most marvelous effect with its lofty wooden gallery and great cornices. It would then have rivalled the finest ceilings in the Aljaferia at Saragossa or the one in the Salón Dorado of the Audiencia at Valencia.

The same period saw the erection of many private residences in Catalonia with doors and windows decorated in a florid Gothic style which is half plateresque. Still the only private palace in Barcelona, the old home of the Gralla family in the Calle de la Puertaferrisa which was built in the style predominant in Central Spain, was to be torn down when the street was widened in the middle of the last century (figs. 349 and 350). In the same way a guild-hall in the Plaza del Angel has been recently taken down, but it has been rebuilt in another part of the city. At Tortosa, too, there is a plateresque doorway with the arms of Charles V and at Lerida, the Oratorio de la Sangre. Both monuments rival the best in Castile in their noble purity of design (fig. 351 and 352).

We have already noted the removal of most of the Catalan nobility to the Court, a fact which accounts for the lack of sumptuous palaces in Catalonia such

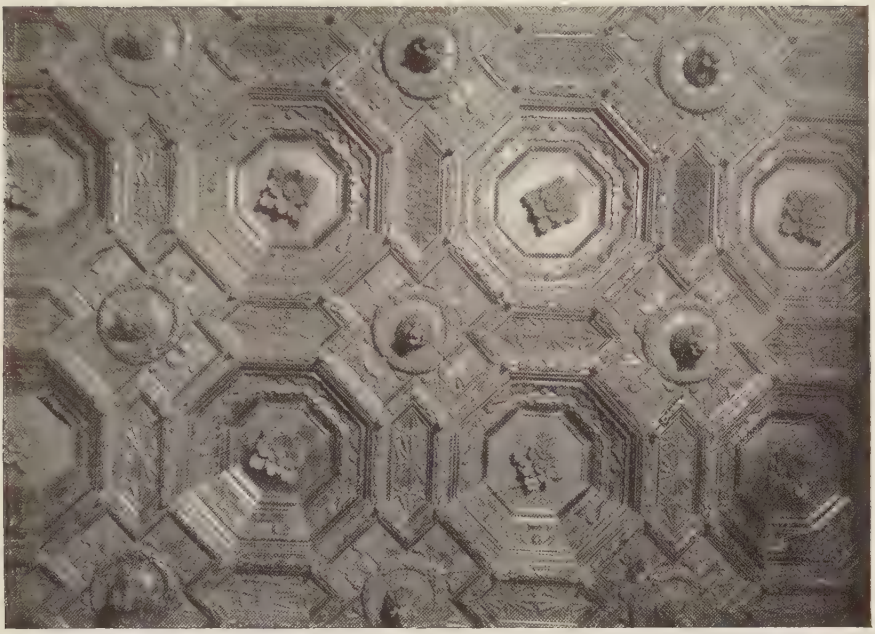


Fig. 347. — Ceiling of the Chapter Hall at the convent of St. Dominic. *Lima*. Peru.

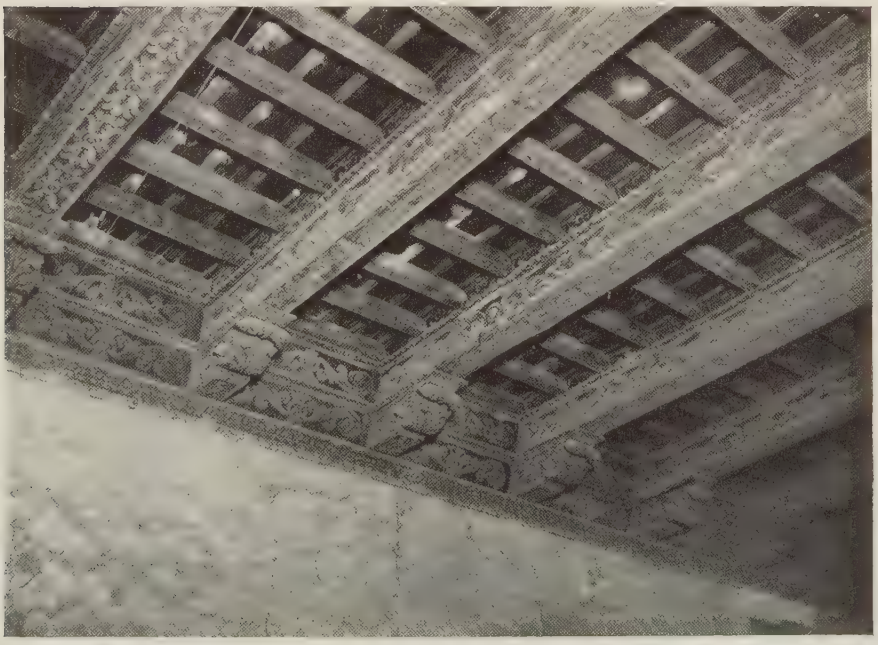


Fig. 348. — Ceiling of the staircase at the convent of St. Dominic. *Lima*. Peru.



Fig. 349.—Casa Gralla. BARCELONA.

as we find at Salamanca and Guadalajara. We do, however, find two interesting examples of this type of structure. One is the palace or castle of the Barons of Albi in the province of Lerida which was never completed (fig. 353). The other is a wing of the Castle of Perelada in the French Renaissance style; it recalls the Assezat Palace and other similar structures at Toulouse.

In Portugal, in the meantime, the so-called Manoeline style developed, but it is nothing more than an adaptation of the Spanish plateresque. During the flourishing times of King Duarte and Don John, Portugal had a Gothic style into which entered certain fanciful Oriental forms. The great navigators who discovered and reaped a rich reward from the new route to the East Indies built palaces to immortalize their exploits. The result was a curious Gothic style which came into vogue about the end of the Fifteenth



Fig. 350.—Doorway of the Casa Gralla. BARCELONA.



Fig. 351.—Interior doorway of the Colegio de San Luis. TORTOSA.

Century in which the pinnacles of the Burgundian flamboyant became a forest of conventionalized trees and branches like those of the jungles of India. But when it became advisable to adapt these intricate Gothic mouldings to Renaissance forms, they turned to Spanish art and achieved results very similar to the plateresque style. The new decoration took its name from King Manuel who reigned from 1495 to 1521. The most typical examples are the chapels called *imparfeitas* in the national monument at Batalha and the cloisters of the Jeronymite monastery at Lisbon (figure 354). The architect seems to have been a certain John of Castile; at least this was the name of the man who executed the plateresque open-work in the archways of the cloisters. During the second half of the Sixteenth Century we find at Lisbon an Italian architect named Filippo Terci who directed the work on the façade of the church of St. Vincent *da Fora*. This was built in imitation of the Escorial, so we see that the Greco-Roman style extended to Portugal as well.



Fig. 352. — Doorway of the Oratorio de la Sangre. LERIDA.

This brief survey will be sufficient to give the student some idea of the beginnings of the Spanish Renaissance and the development of architecture in Spain during the Sixteenth Century prior to the triumph of the baroque style. In this connection it is regrettable to note the lack of any detailed modern treatise on this phase of Spanish architecture. A number of monographs have recently been published which should prepare the way for such a work, but for the most part we must still turn to such books as Caveda's *Historia de la Arquitectura en España,* the *Diccionario Biográfico* of Cean Bermúdez and Llaguno's *Noticias de los Arquitectos* and *Arquitectura de España desde su Restauración,* the only ones to attempt to cover this vast field in a truly critical spirit.



Fig. 353. — Court of the Castillo de Albi. LERIDA.

Sculpture in a general way developed along the same lines as architecture. Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella saw an invasion of Burgundian sculptors and woodcarvers who worked in connection with the Flemish and German architects, such as Egas, Siloe and Güas. During the reign of Charles V

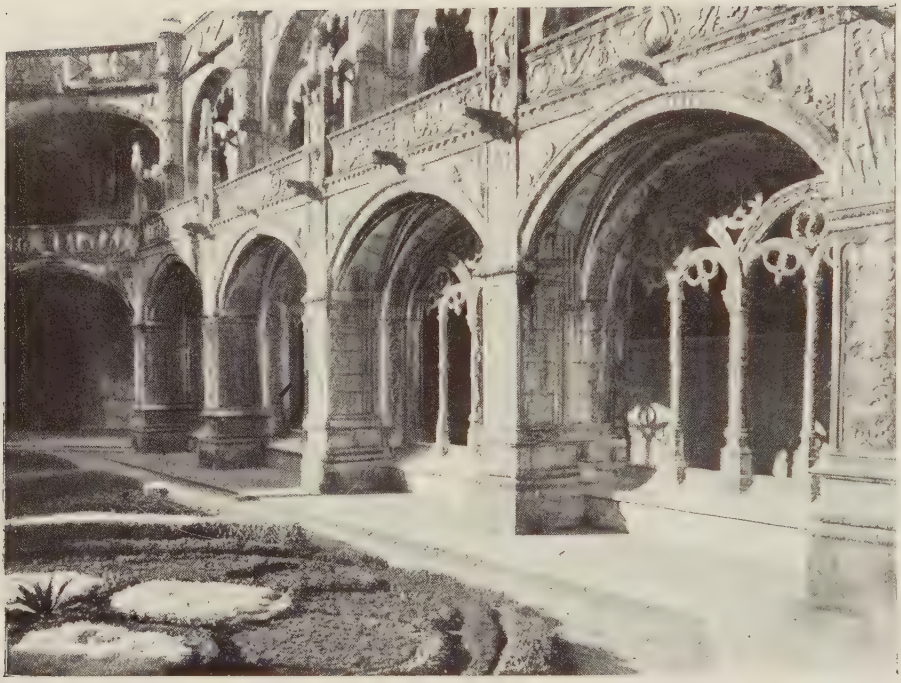


Fig. 354. — Cloisters of the Jeronymite monastery of Belem. Lisbon.

artistic tastes changed from time to time at the dictation of the monarch. The Emperor travelled constantly, and in Italy he became on friendly terms with the artists of Venice, Lombardy and Florence. One of these, Leone Leoni, was accepted by Charles as his court sculptor. That artist's famous group of Charles V dominating Terror is now in the Prado at Madrid. Only a copy occupies the spot for which it was intended in the court of the Alcázar at Toledo. Here the great Emperor appears in all his majesty (fig. 355). The group is an interesting example of the Florentine sculpture of the period. At that time artists were absorbed in problems of composition and the technique of casting. In connection with this portrait statue of Charles V, we see the remarkable feat of casting the cuirass separately so it could be put on or taken off. Although he came to Spain and most of his work was executed for Spaniards, Leone Leoni spent but little time in that country. His son, on the other hand, became almost a Spaniard. Pompeyo Leoni, as he was called, was entrusted under his father's direction with the execution of the bronze apostles and other figures for the altar of the church of the Escorial; also the groups of Charles V and Philip II with their wives and children, all in an attitude of prayer. These groups constitute one of the finest examples we have of sculpture employed in connection with architecture, and the effect they produce is marvelous. Herrera created a magnificent setting for them. On either side of the chancel he opened an archway as tall as the church itself, and here on a high base he raised massive columns bearing the royal scutcheon. Between them, on either side, appear the two monarchs kneeling

and praying with folded hands. Each is accompanied by the four figures of his wife and children, all in the same posture in the shadow of the columns (figures 356 and 357).

These two groups of gilded bronze with their incrustations of bright stones are the only brilliant feature to relieve the great church of bare granite. The very building dignifies these august personages; it is a most remarkable composition, these immobile praying figures set in unyielding bronze. Surely the chancel of the Escorial flanked by these two commemorative groups is one of the most solemnly imposing spots in the world. The effect is heightened by the absence of any other tombs in the church. As though they feared the august company of Charles V and Philip II, the descendants of these monarchs did not set their tombs in the nave of the church but preferred to be enterred in a crypt. Consequently the lines of the church of the Escorial are not broken by a large number of sepulchres such as we find in Westminster Abbey and other churches employed as royal pantheons.


PHOTO HAUSER AND MENET

Fig. 355. - Leone Leoni. Charles V dominating Terror. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

This type of a kneeling figure was, of course, not the invention of Leoni. Charles VIII and his wife, Anne of Brittany, are represented in the same manner in St. Denis, as are Francis I and Henry II in the churches where they lie entombed. It was the fashion of the period, and Spain accepted it with enthusiasm. Leoni himself executed a similar interesting figure of the Infanta, Doña Juana, the sister of Philip II who had been queen of Portugal and later founded the convent of Descalzas Reales at Madrid. The latter is a most remarkable portrait statue and one of the most characteristic sculptures in Castile. The princess kneels at prayer but in such an easy and accustomed manner that she seems to feel quite certain of her assured salvation (fig. 358). There are similar figures of the counts of Salinas at Palencia and Bishop San Segundo in his church at Avila.

But the Leonis, father and son, were not the first Italians to come to Central Spain. Already in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella two Florentine sculptors had introduced into the country the forms and style of Sixteenth-century Italian art. One was the rather violent Torrigiani, famous for his quarrel with Michelangelo when they were both apprentices and who gave the great master the broken nose which he bore all his life. Torrigiani had to flee from Florence, and after a stay in England he established himself in Spain where he executed a



PHOTO THOMAS

Fig. 356. — Charles V and his family at prayer. *Escorial.*

number of works which still possess a certain interest.

Another type of mortuary monument which was accepted to a certain extent in Spain was a doorway composed of a triumphal arch in which was set the kneeling statue of the deceased. Sometimes the figure was stretched upon a couch like that of Ramon de Cardona, former Viceroy of Naples, which we find in the church of Bellpuig in the province of Lerida (fig. 359). This is the work of Juan de Nola; with all the magnificence of the Renaissance style, it is entirely out of keeping with the simple country church which houses it. The pedestal reminds us of the arch of Alfonso V at Naples; two figures of the Virtues appear in niches, and the caryatids with folded hands recall the personifications of the Provinces and the barbarian prisoners in ancient Roman art. Above some medallions project allegorical figures which are already somewhat baroque. It is a singular monument marking the transition and belongs to the art of Naples more than to any other.

Finally another Italian, Domenico Fancelli, introduced a type of sepulchre which was to become very popular in Spain. We know nothing of this sculptor before his arrival in Spain, but his style would indicate that he was a pupil of Pollajuolo. His first authentic work was the tomb of Don Juan, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, who died still young. The Queen arranged in her will for a mausoleum to be erected in commemoration of him in Santo Tomás de Avila. Fancelli took for his model the catafalque on which the remains of a person of importance was exposed (fig. 360). Although smaller, it is similar in its arrangement to that of Pope Sixtus IV in the Vatican. The latter is a broad flat monument upon which the figure of the pontiff lies with folded hands. Around the couch the Virtues and other allegorical figures are set in niches and framed by the traditional decorations of the Fifteenth Century. Although simpler, the same arrangement is seen in the tomb of Don Juan. As on the tomb of the Pope, the corners of the couch are ornamented with the griffins which were to become traditional on sepulchres of this sort.

Fancelli also executed another royal tomb of the same type. This is the sep-

ulchre of Ferdinand and Isabella in the Royal Chapel at Granada. (Plate XXIII.) Those of Juana the Mad and Philip the Handsome beside it are the work of a Spaniard, Bartolomé Ordóñez, who imitated Fancelli's monument in a general way. The catafalques in the Royal Chapel at Granada are larger than the one of Don Juan, because the figures of the royal pair lie side by side. Cisneros also was buried at Alcalá de Henares in a tomb of this sort; indeed, little else was thought of in the last years of the reign of their Catholic Majesties. The sepulchre with a kneeling figure was a later type. We have already noted that it was employed in France for the tombs of the Valois, but we have discussed the couch type last, because its use continued in Spain well into the Sixteenth Century. This was the form employed in one of the latest works of Alonso de Berruguete, the tomb of Cardinal Tavera in the church of the Hospital de Afuera at Toledo (fig. 361).



Fig. 357. — Statues of Philip II and his wives. *Escorial.*

This Alonso de Berruguete is considered to be the first real Castilian sculptor of the Renaissance. Here we have no naturalized Italian, but a pure Spaniard like Herrera who had learned his art in a foreign land. But Herrera's stay in Italy is shrouded in obscurity, while Alonso Berruguete was known in that country as an artist of reputation. Cean Bermúdez, who tells us something of the life of this man, writes: "He was born in Paredes de Nava in 1480, and his father, Pedro Berruguete, who was a painter, instructed him in the principles of art. He went to Italy and, according to Vasari, in 1503 he was in Florence copying the drawings of Michelangelo. At Rome, where he went in 1504, he was an assistant to Buonarroti and copied the Laocoön. Returning to Florence he worked on an altar which Filippo Lippi had left uncompleted. Finally, he returned to Spain in 1520." This was after more than twenty years of study in Italy. Bermúdez goes on to say that upon his return to Castile Charles V appointed him to the post of court painter and sculptor. "He was the first Spanish teacher who disseminated in the kingdom the knowledge of correct drawing and the proper proportions of the human body, magnificence of form, expression and the other sublime attributes of sculpture and painting," remarks the good Cean Bermúdez.

In the archives of the Hospital of Toledo we find additional evidence that



Fig. 358. — Statue of the Infanta Doña Juana, at prayer. *(Descalzas Reales.)* MADRID.

Berruguete abandoned his Italian models when he executed the tomb of Cardinal Tavera and turned to the couch-like monument traditional in Castile. These documents tell us that besides the thousand ducats the sculptor received for the "bed" and the marble "image" of the cardinal, he was accorded further compensation for having journeyed to Alcalá to "view the tomb of Cardinal Cisneros and see if certain themes were carved upon it."

Nevertheless, the form of the monument to Cardinal Tavera is not entirely the same as the catafalque of Fancelli which is almost Fifteenth-century in its style. It is rather a sort of chest or sarcophagus upon which the figure of the prelate lies (fig. 361). We still find the griffins at the corners, and the sides and ends of the stone coffin are decorated with handsome allegorical reliefs, although the last are not so ambitious in conception as Fancelli's Virtues framed in niches.

There is still more or less confusion in regard to the work of Alonso Berruguete; much has been ascribed to him on insufficient grounds. Cean Bermúdez in discussing the art of this first Castilian sculptor expresses the belief that many of these pieces are the work of his pupils. He says that "before describing his authentic works, we should tell which are not his." In any case we have indisputable indications of his style in the reliefs over the stalls of the choir in the cathedral of Toledo which he began in collaboration with a Burgundian named Vigarni and later continued by himself. The vigor of these reliefs remind us of the works of Michelangelo and the sculptures on the façade of S. Petronio at Bologna by Jocopo della Quercia. The work is a serious one and is not strained for effect or contrasts; the large figures filling these panels are executed simply with a marvelous perspective effect (fig. 362).

Gaspar Becerra was another artist whose career was very similar to that of Berruguete. He, too, went to Italy and completed his training in the school of Michelangelo. He may not have worked directly under the eye of the master who was now an old man, but we know that he studied under Vasari and achieved a certain reputation in Rome. Upon his return to Spain he won the favor of Philip II who appointed him court painter in 1563. He seems to have shared Berru-



Tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella and their children, Philip the Handsome and Juana the Mad, in the Royal Chapel. *(Cathedral of Granada.)*



Fig. 359.—Detail of the tomb of Ramon de Cardona. *Bellpuig*. LERIDA.

guete's popularity, although his work is much more Spanish in character. Some of his statues are colored, and he even executed figures of the Virgin and saints in which only the head and hands are sculptured. Evidently they were intended to be dressed in actual fabrics. He it was who inaugurated the famous Spanish school of polychrome sculpture in which so much attention is given to the folds of the drapery. Berruguete, faithful to the severity of Michelangelo's style, was simply a sculptor in monochrome. Becerra, however, had a feeling for color in sculpture, and remained a true Spaniard during all his Italian sojourn; we know that he married a Spanish lady in Rome. This artist is famous for his Virgin de la Soledad so highly venerated in Madrid and the beautiful decorations behind the choir in the cathedral of Astorga.

About this time another Italian master appeared in Spain where he was known as Juan de Juni. Animated by the peculiar psychology of the country, his work at Valladolid inspired a new group of sculptors of images in central Castile. The gilded and polychrome statues of this school are remarkably effective. Juni's pupils, Cristóbal de Velázquez and Gregorio Hernández, applied their talents with enthusiasm to this singular art of polychrome sculpture which was to become so dear to the Spanish people with their love for brilliant religious ceremonies and processions. It is impossible to cover in a brief account the history of this strange style so peculiar to the country and which owes little or nothing to the other schools of Renaissance art in Europe. But perhaps the greatest Castilian sculptor of this times is the mysterious Vasco de la Zarza, author of the monument to the bishop Alfonso de Madrigal, at the cathedral

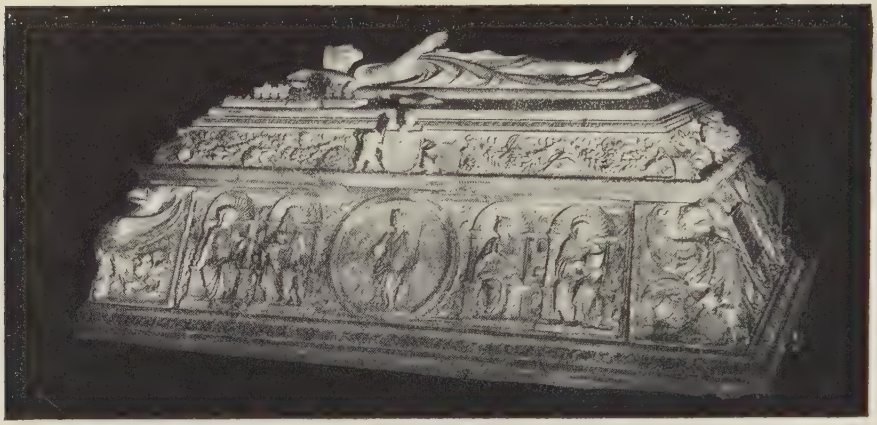


Fig. 360. — Domenico Fancelli. Tomb of Don Juan. *(Santo Tomás de Avila.)*

of Avila (fig. 363). Here we can do little more than cite a few of the more prominent names. Hernández died in 1622 leaving his sacred images in almost every church in Valladolid. The best known of these is the Virgin de las Angustias, but there are many others in Castile which are supposed to be the work of his hands.

At the same time an Andalusian sculptor by the name of Martínez Montañés was inaugurating a similar style of sculpture in the South. He was almost a contemporary of Hernández, although the first signed work of Montañés bears the date of 1607. He carved a large number of sacred images which are still highly venerated and carried in procession during Holy Week in Seville. (Plate XXIV.) Palomino relates an interesting anecdote of his famous Jesús Nazareno. When this figure was borne through the streets in solemn procession for the first time, Montañés come out to meet it at each corner as it passed, filled with religious



Fig. 361. — Alonso Berruguete. Tomb of Cardinal Tavera. *(Hospital de Afuera.)* Toledo.



Fig. 362. — Alonso Berruguete. Detail of the stalls of the choir in the cathedral of Toledo.

fervor and ecstasy at having been its creator (fig. 366). Cean Bermúdez adds: "Although I was not its sculptor, I confess that I did the same during the many years that I lived in Seville. I was not satisfied if I did not view it two or three times during the afternoon of the procession." What Montañés might have ac-

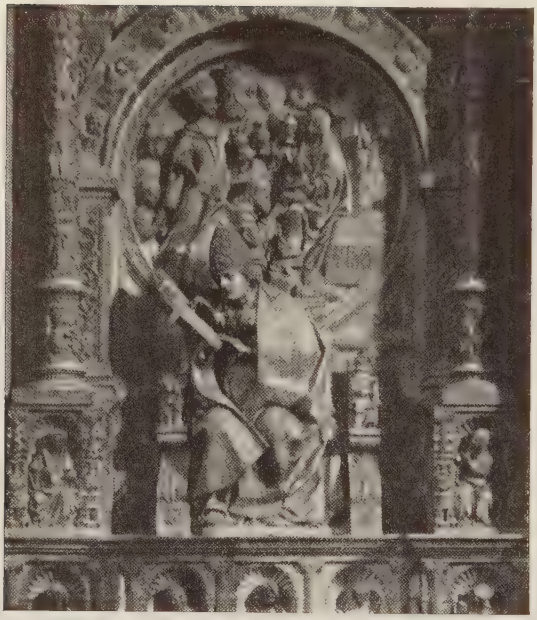


Fig. 363. — Vasco de la Zarza. Monument to the Bishop Alfonso de Madrigal. *(Cathedral of Avila.)*

complished in the field of monumental sculpture is shown in his equestrian statue of Philip IV on the Plaza Mayor at Madrid. He came to court to receive instructions in regard to this work from Velásquez who painted the magnificent portrait of the sculptor now in the Prado. When the model was completed it was sent to Florence to be cast in the shop of Pietro Tacca. But with the exception of this mounted figure on the Plaza Mayor, Montañés executed only the religious statues which his friend, Pacheco, colored, employing a certain new method of giving the flesh a dull finish that is very lifelike.

A pupil of Montañés in sculpture, and of Pacheco, the father-in-law of Velasquez, in painting, was Alonso Cano who was born at Granada in 1601. His father, a joiner of altar-pieces, moved to Seville where the son found opportunities to advance in his art. Cean Bermúdez suspects that Alonso Cano drew some of his inspiration from the antique marbles in the House of Pilate at Seville. This writer says that "he could not have learned his excellent principles, simple postures, magnificence of form, truth and good taste" from Montañés. Alonso Cano mortally wounded a jealous rival in a duel and was obliged to flee to Madrid, where he was befriended by Velasquez who really understood him. The great painter secured an appointment for him as drawing-master to the prince, Baltasar Carlos. In spite of this and of all that Cean Bermúdez says, Cano was one of the best of the Spanish artists who had never studied outside the country. His life was one of vexations and difficulties. He was vaguely accused of having murdered his wife, and only the protection of Velasquez saved him, although he was imprisoned. He was appointed steward of the Cofradía de los Dolores at Madrid and was heavily fined for not taking part in one of the processions. Finally in 1654 he obtained the post of official sculptor of the cathedral of Granada where he installed his studio. He was supposed to obey the orders of the cathedral chapter, and he soon incurred the disfavor of these dignitaries because he would not be ordained as deacon nor attend services in the choir. They withheld his pay until he consented to be ordained in 1667, but he died soon after. He was not very well known at the time and much that has been ascribed to him is not now believed to be his work (fig. 364).



J. Martínez Montañés. Crucifix. *(Cathedral of Seville.)*

Nevertheless, Alonso Cano did much to prevent the school of Montañés and Hernández from falling into a theatrical and exaggerated mannerism. He achieved a sincerity of expression and did not overdo the coloring of his statues. Unlike Montañés, he colored his own work, while the former was obliged to call upon professional painters. A pupil of Cano, who executed many of the works wrongly ascribed to the master himself, was the Granada sculptor, Pedro de Mena y Medrano. He was a typical Spaniard of the time. Born in 1628, he worked chiefly for cathedral chapters. He married and had five children who all followed the Church. He was a Familiar of the Inquisition; his friends and the executors of his will were all canons or other religiously inclined



Fig. 364. - San Bruno, by Montañés or Cano. CADIZ.



Fig. 365. — Montañés. La Concepción.



Fig. 366. — Montañés. El Cristo del gran poder (with and without drapery). SEVILLE.



Fig. 367. — Pedro de Mena. Magdalene. *(Convento de la Visitación.)* MADRID.



Fig. 368. — Pedro de Mena. St. Maria Egipciaca. *(Museo Arqueológico.)* MADRID.

persons. He hardly left his native province. Only once did he go to Madrid where some verses were written in praise of his statues. Mena was a conscientious worker but never reaped any great reward for his efforts. He died at the age of sixty "surrounded by his wife, niece and three slaves. His sons were all absent; the eldest being a Jesuit... the youngest was with the archbishop of Saragossa and his three daughters were in a convent". These few words really cover the entire life of one of the greatest artists of Spain. And to think that this was a time when such artists as Rubens and Bernini lived the life of a prince! Mena's most important work is the choir of the cathedral of Malaga, but we may well prefer his smaller sculptures, with their fervor and deep religious feeling, to this great composition (figs. 367 to 370 and Plate XXV). When we look at them we are convinced of the piety and devotion existing at his time.

Goldsmith's work was closely related with sculpture during this period. It was a time of great monstrances and processional crosses, the two examples of this art which particularly lent themselves to the brilliant religious ceremonies of the day. The foremost goldsmiths of Spain at this time belonged to either the



Pedro de Mena. The Virgin of Bethlehem. *(Church of St. Dominic.)* MALAGA.



Fig. 369. — Pedro de Mena. San Pedro de Alcántara. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*



Fig. 370. - Pedro de Mena. San Francisco. *(Cathedral of Toledo.)*

Arfe family of Leon or the Becerrils of Cuenca. We have already seen how the plateresque style in architecture was suggested to Enrique de Egas by a certain Enrique de Arfe (possibly Heinrich Harfe) who was a newly arrived German silversmith. Whether or not the story is true, the first Arfe was a contemporary of Egas and executed the famous monstrance of the cathedral of Toledo for Cisneros. It is in the form of a hexagonal chapel or pavilion; the style is still Gothic. The piece is over eight feet in height and is crowned with pinnacles and scrolls; on the base are scenes from the life of Christ in relief and above, the Ascension, while the entire sacred object is set with precious stones. It was the gift of Cisneros and Queen Isabella. (Plate XXVI.) Enrique de Arfe's son, Antonio, was also a skilful maker of monstrances; the one still in the cathedral of Santiago was made by him in 1554. Perhaps the most brilliant member of the family was the latter's son, Juan, who was the author of the monstrance of the Escorial. This



Fig. 371. — Pax at Ciudad Real.



Fig. 372. — Monstrance of the Monastery of Silos.

brings him down to Herrera's generation and the period of the Greco-Roman style. He tells of his art in a small volume in verse. The only portion in prose was the introduction which was not published but was reproduced by Cean Bermúdez. Here the artist proudly describes the monstrance he executed for the Escorial. It was a precious example of goldsmith's work in the Greco-Roman period, but was lost during the Napoleonic Wars. We still have at Seville, however, a splendid example of the skill of Juan de Arfe. It is another monstrance over nine feet high and entirely in the classical style. The piece is embellished with numerous reliefs and statuettes, some of them more than six inches in height.

Three members of the Becerril family were also famous artists; these were the brothers, Francisco and Alonso, and Cristóbal, the son of the latter. Exquisite specimens of the work of Francisco Becerril are the monstrance belonging to the Hispanic Society in New York (Plate XXVI) and the handle and rear portion of the Pax of Ciudad Real (fig. 371). The Byzantine relief forming a part of this piece has already been reproduced in the second volume of this work. All during the Sixteenth Century the Arfes and Becerrils and their pupils filled the cathedral-treasuries of Spain with their masterly work. An excellent



Francisco Becerril. Monstrance.
(Hispanic Society.) NEW YORK.



Enrique de Arfe. Monstrance.
(Cathedral of Toledo.)

example is the monstrance of Silos which still shows the influence of the plateresque style in its upper portion (fig. 372).

In the grilles and balconies of the churches and palaces we find magnificent specimens of the iron-work of the period. The grille in the Royal Chapel at Granada is the work of a certain Bartolomé whose wrought-iron gratings are also found at Ubeda and Jaén. Most of the Spanish cathedrals are embellished by iron grilles in front of the choir and the chapels executed with a rather curious technique; they are a combination of wrought and cast iron joined and bolted together. The entire composition with its gilding and polychrome scutcheons is often of remarkable size. The grille of the Capilla Mayor at Toledo, the work of Francisco Villalpando, is more than twenty-two feet high; its designs were approved by Cardinal Tavera. Ten years were spent in fashioning it and Méndez Silva tells us that it cost more than if it had been cast in silver. The choir-grill at Toledo was made by a Master Domingo who engaged to do the work for five thousand ducats on the condition that he also be supplied with the gold and silver required for its decoration. Those in the cathedral at Seville are by Master Sancho Múñez de Cuenca and Friar Francisco de Salamanca and are well worthy of comparison with the one in the Royal Chapel at Granada (fig. 373).

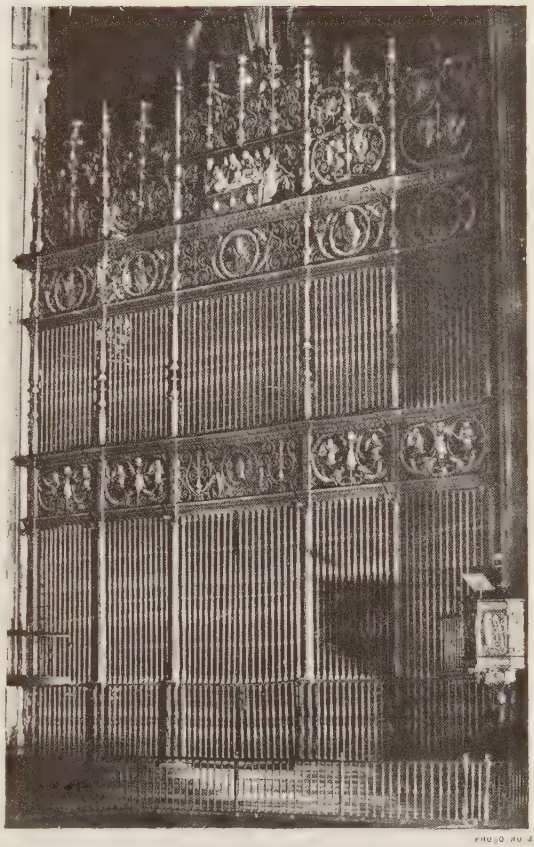


Fig. 373. — Grill of the Capilla Mayor in the Cathedral of Seville.

About the middle of the Sixteenth Century a Tuscan painter, known in Spain as Nicoloso, settled in Seville and introduced the technique and style of the large ceramic decorations of the Della Robbias. It became very popular and finally replaced the traditional Morisco work of Valencia, so we see a new style of tile decorations arising in Seville and spreading to all Spain (fig. 374).

Summary. — In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the first generation of German and Burgundian artists imported the flamboyant Gothic style into Spain, although in Castile it was affected by the native Mudejar style. Among these architects were Enrique de Egas, the court architect of their Catholic Majesties, Güas, Gil de Siloe of unknown origin, and the Colonias, father and son, who worked on the cathedral at Burgos. Soon these men began to adopt many of the principles and forms of the Renaissance. During this transition period a hybrid style originated

called the plateresque which developed alongside of the pure Italian forms. The last were known in Spain as the Greco-Roman. The first attempt to construct an edifice entirely along Italian lines was the palace of Charles V on the hill of the Alhambra at Granada, but the Greco-Roman style really began with the erection of the Escorial which was the work of Toledo and Herrera. The latter exerted a predominant influence upon the architecture of his time, for he was the court inspector of all the public buildings under construction. Nevertheless, his efforts had no permanent effect; the plateresque style continued to be popular until the baroque took its place.

In the field of sculpture, the first generation of Burgundian sculptors and wood-carvers executed marvels in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. They were supplanted later, however, by Italians like Torrigiani and Fancelli and by Spanish sculptors who had been trained in Italy. Among the last were Berruguete, a pupil of Michelangelo, and his rival, Becerra, who was also educated in Italy.

The goldsmiths of Castile were famous for their monstrances and crosses; the most prominent of these were the members of the Arfe family of Leon and the Becerrils of Cuenca. In addition to the magnificent examples of the goldsmith's craft we find marvelous grilles, pulpits and crosses of wrought iron. The ceramic art preserved the Oriental and Morisco traditions until these were supplanted by the new Florentine style brought to Seville by Nicoloso about the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

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Fig. 374. Sevillian tiles.



Fig. 375. — Château of Amboise.

CHAPTER XII

THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE. — THE ITALIAN COLONY AT AMBOISE. THE CHATEAUX OF FRANCIS I. — THE BUILDINGS OF HENRY II AND CATHERINE DE MEDICI. — LESCOT, DE L'ORME AND MANSART. — JEAN GOUJON.

The right of France to intervene in Italian affairs was still being exercised as the result of the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples in the person of Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, in the Thirteenth Century. The Neapolitan branch of the House of Anjou had reigned in Naples until the middle of the Fifteenth Century, when Alfonso V, the astute King of Aragon, attempted to justify his conquest and usurpation by having himself declared the adopted son and heir of the famous Queen Joanna. This lady, a most incapable person, was the last representative of the Angevin dynasty at Naples.

All this, of course, was considered an insult and an outrage by the Kings of France, and both Charles VIII and Louis XII descended into Italy in an endeavor to repair the injury. The latter, moreover, also sought to establish his rights in the Duchy of Milan which he inherited from his mother, Valentina Visconti.

The first two Valois kings, Francis I and Henry II, also invaded Italy. Their fortunes in war were somewhat varied, but the result to culture and art was most important. As early as the first expedition of Charles VIII in 1495, the king had sent back to France a group of twenty artists who were to "build and



Fig. 376. — Château of Meillant.

work at the orders of the king in the style of Italy." The latter installed them in the château of Amboise with a view of rebuilding this structure. The most prominent figure in the Italian colony at Amboise was a certain Fra Giocondo, an able architect who had already been employed by the King of Aragon at Naples, and whom Charles VIII had engaged at a salary of 562 livres per year. Except for Domenico da Cortona who was also an architect, the others seem to have been sculptors and decorators. One of the latter was the famous sculptor of Modena, Guido Mazzoni, whom Charles VIII had knighted at Naples and who was even more highly paid than Fra Giocondo.

There is still more or less uncertainty regarding the work of the Italian colony at Amboise. It is difficult to distinguish it in the edifices ascribed to these men, especially in the châteaux on the Loire. Fra Giocondo was already a man of mature years; he had issued the first translation of Vitruvius and constructed the Loggia at Verona, a monument of a purely classical character, and after his return to Italy he was associated with Giuliano di Sangallo in the work on St. Peter's at Rome. It is not easy, therefore, to understand how he could have had a part in the construction of the château of Gaillon for the Cardinal-Bishop of Rouen who was the minister of Louis XII. It was a sumptuous edifice, it is true, but built entirely on Gothic lines.

The château of Amboise (fig. 375), the château of Gaillon of which only a portion remains, the château of Meillant in Berry (fig. 376) and the new wing constructed by Louis XII in his château of Blois (fig. 378) all have little or nothing of a classical appearance in their general lines. They are still in the French Gothic style, although suggesting the Renaissance in some of their decorations which are quite Italian. It is believed that the modern equestrian statue of Louis XII over the main entrance of his château at Blois (fig. 378) replaces another similar figure which was the work of Guido Mazzone. Also in the friezes and reliefs at Gaillon we find medallions in the classical style which were evidently executed by Italian artists.

The climate of this part of France called for high roofs with lucarnes, or dormer-windows, and these architectural features may have had an effect for a time on the Italian artists at Amboise, so that while they accepted French

architecture in a general way, they created a hybrid art which was much more acceptable to the builders of the country than the genuine Italian styles of the late Fifteenth Century would have been.

We know positively that after the departure of Fra Giocondo, Domenico da Cortona remained at the French court at Blois supervising the work in the royal châteaux. He probably continued in his post during the first years of the reign of Francis I whose favor he also enjoyed.

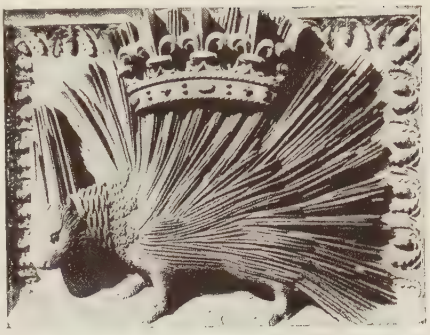


Fig. 377. — Château of Blois.
Emblem of Louis XII.

Some of the first work under Francis I was perhaps in the château of Blois. Although Louis XII had enlarged this structure by building the new wing already mentioned, it was still insufficient to house the magnificent court of the young king. The wing of Francis I projects at right angles from that of Louis XII and a glance at the photographs of the château (figures 378 and 379) shows us the changes which took place in only a dozen years. On the façade of the court which dates from the time of Francis I, there are no Gothic windows, and along the top runs a walk supported by a singular cornice of a semi-classical character. It still has the tall chimneys and dormers (fig. 381) traditional in the country and the projecting polygonal staircase, typical of a French château but anything but classical with its oblique ascent. We see it in the house of Jacques Coeur at Bourges and in the château of Meillant in Berry (fig. 376). Indeed, the stairway in the courtyard of the structure of Francis I at Blois represents a victory of traditional French construction



Fig. 378. — Château of Blois.
Façade from the time of Louis XII.

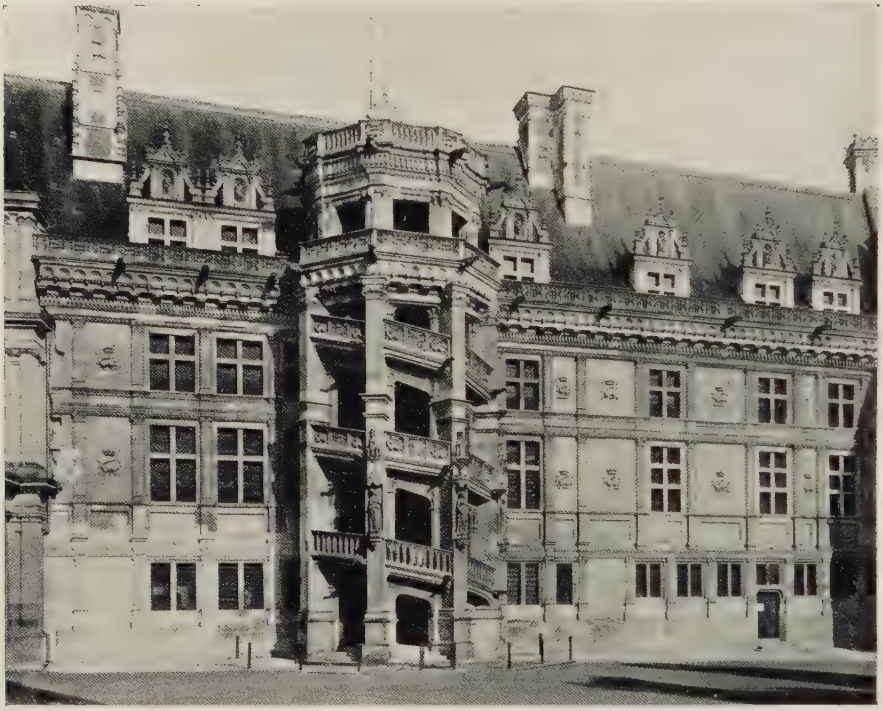


Fig. 379. — Château of Blois. Façade of the wing of Francis I on the court.

over the tastes and methods of the Italians. On the exterior façade the contrast between the two styles is still more plainly to be seen. The Italian architects and their French pupils who worked on the wing of Francis I at Blois evidently desired to take advantage of the situation of the edifice on its high mediaeval bastions to construct an open façade composed of galleries and loggias overlooking the elegant parterres of the gardens on that side. The result was very different from what might have been expected. These galleries have no depth; they are really a series of covered balconies set above one another dividing the façade vertically and the spaces between them are like buttresses. We see the same idea employed in the other châteaux of the Valois, such as the château of Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne and the palace of St. Germain near Paris.



Fig. 380. — Château of Blois.
Emblem of Francis I.

But the decoration of this wing of Francis I at Blois is already typical of the Renaissance. It can hardly be called Tuscan; and yet it reminds us somewhat of the ancient classical orders. While it is not Milanese, it recalls

the profuse decorations of the Certosa di Pavia. Indeed, it is rather representative of the French Renaissance and characteristic of the reign of Francis I. The friezes and medallions which embellish the railings are composed of his initial with a coronet and the salamander which was his emblem (fig. 380). Francis I, however, was not the man to be content with adding a wing to the palace of his predecessor; the work at Blois was followed by the construction of the château of Chambord which is the building most characteristic of his reign (fig. 382). We know little of the architects who supervised this undertaking. According to some, the work should be ascribed to Domenico da Cortona whose name appears in the accounts. Others believe that two Frenchmen, Denis Sourdeau and Pierre Nepveu, directed its construction. In any case, no one but such a king with such a court could have conceived of so singular an edifice. Just as we associate the name of Philip II with the Escorial rather than that of Herrera, so do the memories of the gallant King of France, his favorite, the duchess of Étampes, and his sister, Marguerite of Navarre, still pervade the halls of the château of Chambord.



Fig. 381.—Chimney of the château of Blois, bearing the initial and emblem of Francis I.

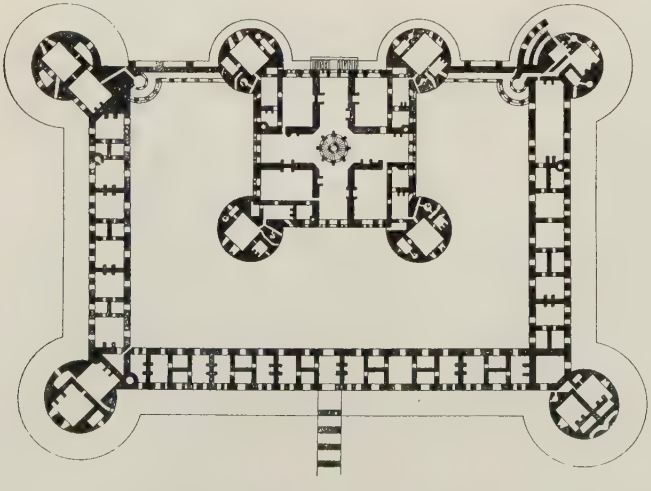


Fig. 382.—Plan of the château of Chambord.



Fig. 383.—Chimneys and lucarnes of the château of Chambord.

No one but Francis I would have proposed such a site for a royal castle nor have accepted the plan, whoever may have designed it. The King was fond of the hunt and of great fêtes. By day, he loved a cavalcade galloping through the forest and by night, the hum of an elegant and crowded court. His disposition is the explanation of the new château set in a clearing on the edge of the swampy forest of Sologne. The entire plan is subordinated to the great central staircase with its double flight by which the whole court could descend in two separate companies. The scheme is that of the stairway at Blois, but it is set in the centre of the palace and is surmounted by a cupola looming up amid the lucarnes and chimneys. (Plate XXVII, B.)

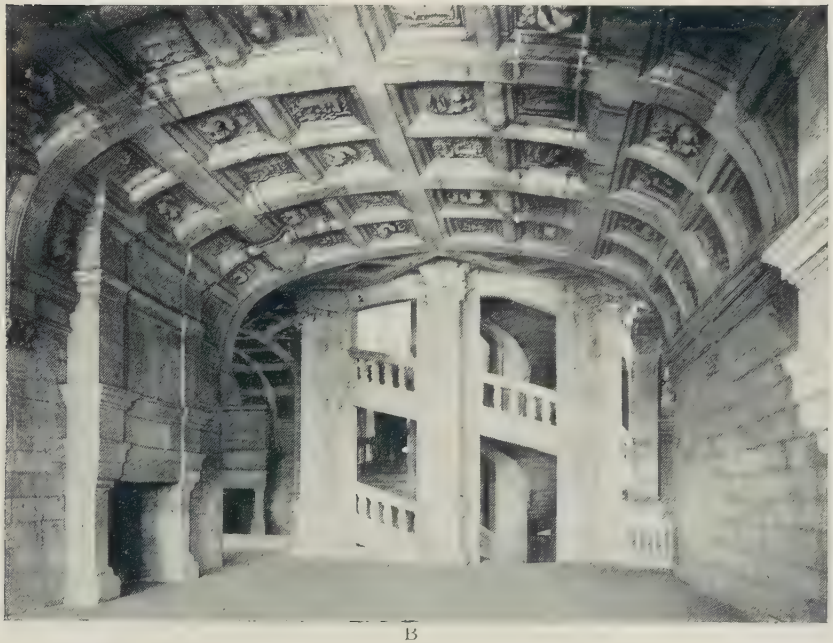
The view from the park of the thousand dormers of Chambord seems like a vision inspired by the pages of Rabelais. The main body of the château is hidden by the trees, and we see only the chimneys and other projections rising from the horizontal line of the roof which is already flat as in Italy. (Plate XXVII, A.) The decoration is more advanced in style than the wing at Blois; the pilasters are of the classical type and the ornamentation and mouldings irreproachable with their singular combination of white and dark stone (fig. 383). The initial of Francis I appears everywhere with its crown. Here the knightly king passed the last years of his life and died. This was his home, just as Blois was that of Louis XII; Amboise, of Charles VIII, and, later on, Versailles, of Louis XIV.

For this reason Chambord represents a phase in the national existence of France that can never be understood by one who does not know his Rabelais, his Marguerite de Navarre or who is not familiar with the adventures and warlike exploits of Francis I.

With certain reservations the style of the royal châteaux was accepted



A



B

Château of Chambord. – A. Lucarnes and chimneys of the central portion.
B. Stairway of honor.

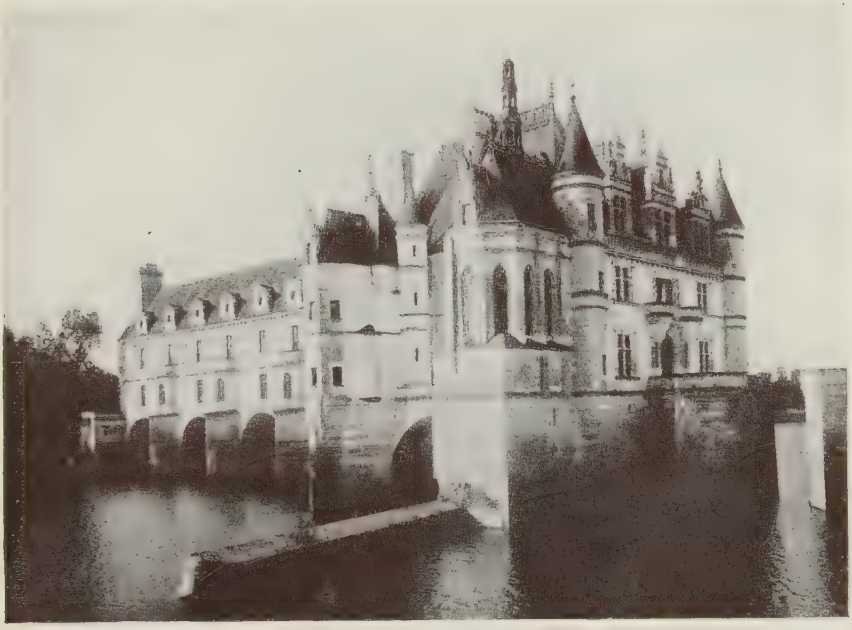


Fig. 384.—Château de Chenonceaux.

everywhere in France. Chambord, of course, remained unique; no one else was audacious enough to continue along that line. But the more rational composition of Amboise and Blois was imitated with enthusiasm, first on the banks of the Loire, the part of France where new fashions were the most closely followed, and later in more distant regions, Caen, Toulouse and the country about Orleans... At Paris Domenico da Cortona planned the old Hôtel de Ville.

The château of Chenonceaux, set on a little island in the River Cher and in the Loire basin, is another of those remarkable structures so admired in the time of Francis I. Here an old mill rose above some mediaeval stone walls, and the site was utilized by the minister, Thomas Bohier, who constructed a magnificent residence there in 1520 (fig. 384). It became the property of Diane de Poitiers and later came into the hands of Catherine de Medici. Philibert de l'Orme added a wing for Diane over the bridge crossing the river, and Catherine de Medici proposed a square surrounded by porticos and gardens on the further side of the river. The latter project was never realized; if it had been carried out, we should have a monumental composition in which the original structure on the island in the Cher would play but a small part.

The château of Azay-le-Rideau was built in 1521 on an island in the Loire for another financier, G. Berthelot (fig. 385). Its plan is in the form of a letter L. At the corner are round towers and upon a corbel-table rests the steep roof with its graceful dormer-windows. All the ornamental details are in the best taste of the period; the stairway is famous with its ceiling decorated with medallions and with pendants in the centre of the arches (fig. 386).



Fig. 385. — Château of Azay-le-Rideau.

Although Francis I spent the greater part of the time on the banks of the Loire, his presence at the capital was often necessary, so he built residences close to Paris which were naturally great hunting-lodges. The first was the Château de Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne which he began soon after his return from captivity. It has disappeared today, but we still have the drawings published at the end of the Sixteenth Century by du Cerceau in his work entitled *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*. He also constructed in the neighborhood of Paris the palace of St. Germain and the one at Fontainebleau. The latter, however, he left uncompleted, and it became a monument to the glory of his successors.

The plan of the Château de Madrid was nothing unusual; it was symmetrical to an extent that must have made it rather inconvenient, for it was all divided into rectangular halls and antechambers. On the exterior were galleries like those at Blois, although the drawings suggest that they were somewhat more Italian in character. The building was destroyed during the Revolution, and only a few fragments now remain in the Cluny Museum.

The palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, however, has been preserved intact and is today a museum. It occupies the site of an old mediaeval fortress which once overlooked the Seine and which was destroyed by Francis I to make room for a new palace more in harmony with the tastes of his own time. Both the exterior façades and those of the court resemble the outer façade at Blois. The surface is broken by pilasters rising above one another after the manner of buttresses and around the entire structure extends a projecting balcony. The palace of St. Germain seems to have been the work of a French master by the name of

Pierre Cambiges who also worked at Fontainebleau and had been employed by Domenico da Cortona in the construction of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris. Additions were made during this period to the château of Chantilly which had been commenced about the end of the Fifteenth Century by the Montmorency family. The chapel is in the transition style, but it was hemmed in by two later wings done in the pure classical style and planned by Jean Bullant in 1542 (fig. 388).



Fig. 386. — Château of Azay-le-Rideau. Ceiling over the staircase.

Simultaneously with the construction of the Château de Madrid and the palace at St. Germain, Francis I began work on the palace of Fontainebleau. Here he established another colony of Italian architects, and we shall see this group taking a part in the undertakings of the next monarch and exerting a new influence on the French Renaissance. We know more of the Italians at Fontainebleau than we did of the colony at Amboise. Besides the stucco-workers and fresco-painters there were a number of illustrious artists. Here we find such men as Serlio who wrote commentaries on the work of Vitruvius and other architectural treatises, the famous sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini, and painters of merit such as Primaticcio and a pupil of Michelangelo named Rosso who decorated the great gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau (fig. 389). They were all liberally paid, and certain benefices were assigned to them as well. Primaticcio, for example, in addition to his salary of 600 livres a year also enjoyed the benefice of the abbey of St. Martin. Of their quarrels, characters and morals we have abundant information in the autobiography of Cellini who was, as we saw, a member of this group.

These men were the creators of the most handsome and luxurious buildings for the monarchs. The very names of these structures call forth a picture of the period, and in the provincial cities the wealthy bourgeois followed with enthusiasm the example set by the king. The first manifestations of the French Renaissance in private residences are exemplified in the so-called House of Agnes Sorel at Orleans. On the dormers of this building we already find pilas-



Fig. 387.—Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris.

ters with fanciful decorations in the classical style. In 1512 Florimond Robertet, a minister of Louis XII, built a house at Blois; on the court are two stories of the classical orders, and the rail is embellished with medallions of Italian terra-cotta. The Hôtel Bernuy at Toulouse has a court entirely in keeping with the tastes of the reign of Francis I, while the exterior doorway is still Gothic (figure 393). On the cornice of the Hôtel d'Uzès at Paris we see the salamander which was the emblem of Francis I (fig. 394); the doors are ornamented with the crowns, figures of children, scrolls and curled leaves so characteristic of the decorative style of the time. The façade is arranged in the same manner. There are flat pilasters which do not belong to any entablature, dormers with their graduated finals, even the same combination of square compartments of black stone as at Chambord. Although it is a Parisian residence, we find applied here all the principles established in the royal châteaux and palaces.

Among the public works of a general character belonging to the first period of the French Renaissance we might cite the Bridge of Notre Dame at Paris, the work of the old Fra Giocondo, the Hôtel de Ville at Paris by Cortona, another Hôtel de Ville at Rouen, the Capitole at Toulouse and others. The attention of the kings, however, was still centered entirely on their own residences. Consequently, although the Valois were good Catholics and zealously opposed to Protestantism which was gradually pervading France, it was not a period of great church-building. Few new churches were built; at the most, certain chapels were decorated with new ceilings and tombs, or façades were restored with



Fig. 388. — Château of Chantilly.

doorways in the new style. The general lines of the churches remained Gothic. A single century was hardly sufficient to alter the ideas of the French builders who were so thoroughly embued with the idea of the groined vault. The most notable church of the time of Francis I is that of St. Eustache at Paris. This was, perhaps, the work of Cortona himself and begun in 1532 when the architect had already been in France for more than thirty-six years. He seems, however, to have had either a collaborator or successor by the name of Pierre Lemercier. St. Eustache has a nave and four aisles and rivals some of the larger Gothic cathedrals in size. It surpasses them in its profusion and wealth of decoration if not in good taste; we find everywhere, inside and out, ornamented pilasters rising above one another in graceful fashion. The vaults are still Gothic and the exterior buttresses are covered with classical decorations, but the structure as a whole is very similar to the great cathedrals. The façade remained uncompleted until the Eighteenth Century, when a classical façade was added. St. Eustache reveals the extent to which a taste for the Renaissance had penetrated. Even the mouldings, though at first they seem to be Gothic, are simplified, and the Roman columns supporting the Gothic vaults do not appear so exotic because of the modifications which the other structural elements have undergone.

The successor of Francis I resembled his father in but one respect, his love for building; *la maladie de bâtir* of the Valois, as it is called by the French. Even the last two degenerate monarchs of this line possessed this mania for



Fig. 389. — Gallery of Francis I, decorated by Rosso. FONTAINEBLEAU.

construction. The comparatively long reign of Henry II, which lasted from 1547 to 1559, was sufficient for him to begin a number of important buildings. These were completed by his successors and by his widow, Catherine de Medici, whose influence endured down to the time of the last of the Valois. In her husband's time, however, she played a less important part; all his life this king was devoted to Diane de Poitiers with whom he might almost be said to have shared his throne. Henry II and Diane began the rebuilding of the Louvre. The need for this had for some time been apparent, and Francis I had already given the matter consideration (fig. 390).

Although the Crown possessed the magnificent châteaux on the banks of the Loire constructed in the new style and the great palaces of Madrid and St. Germain in the forests about the capital, in Paris itself the old Louvre remained little changed. It was still the stronghold of dark stone which Philip Augustus and his successors had built. Henry II and Diane de Poitiers entrusted the construction of the new Louvre to a master who had already enjoyed the confidence of Francis I. This was Pierre Lescot, probably a favorite of the king and Diane. He was a counsellor in the parliament and a person of independent means, and if he was not an artist by nature, he became one by study. Pierre Lescot was an architect and nothing more; indeed, we may say that the Louvre was his only work. His entire life was devoted to this one task, as though it was a slow and painful effort; and indeed, it is an admirable structure of a powerful and individual character, but it is not the work of spontaneous genius nor does it display the freedom of an inspired artist. We are impressed by the great mass of the Louvre and still more by its noble aspect. He who planned it was a born aristocrat accustomed from his infancy to sober elegance. Here we find nothing of the Rabelaisian turbulence of Chambord with its fanciful dormers rising in confusion from the roof; the windows of the Louvre alternate with the pilasters



Fig. 390. — Court of the Louvre (southwest angle) constructed by Lescot.

in an orderly manner and every detail is conscientiously planned. The details of the cornice, the medallions and the reliefs of the dormer-windows may be of doubtful inspiration, if you will, but all are traced by a firm hand and no accessory is neglected (fig. 390). Lescot's collaborator was the sculptor, Jean Goujon, whom we shall discuss further when we come to the sculpture of the period. Goujon may have been the protégé of Diane de Poitiers, but he always worked in harmony with Lescot who was the guiding spirit in the work. Henry II and Diane never failed to recognize his worth and conferred many favors upon him; his salary, apart from other emoluments, mounted to as much as 1200 livres a year.

But when Lescot died in 1578, only a small portion of the new structure was completed; two wings of a rectangular court (fig. 391). The other two were finished in the same style after his death, and even when the palace was lengthened by two exterior wings uniting it with the Tuileries, the spirit of Lescot continued to prevail. His successors might alter the architecture and the decorations, but we find the same arrangement of projecting bays surmounted by monumental decorations.

Although we have referred to the Tuileries as being later joined with the Louvre, nevertheless this palace was originally built in a spirit of antagonism to the work of Lescot. While Henry II and his favorite were decorating the Louvre with their initials combined, the real queen, Catherine de Medici, and her little court began the construction of the Tuileries on a site which was then outside the city.

The architect of the Tuileries, Philibert de l'Orme, was a Frenchman but not, like Lescot, of noble birth. He was the son of a mason of Lyons and much

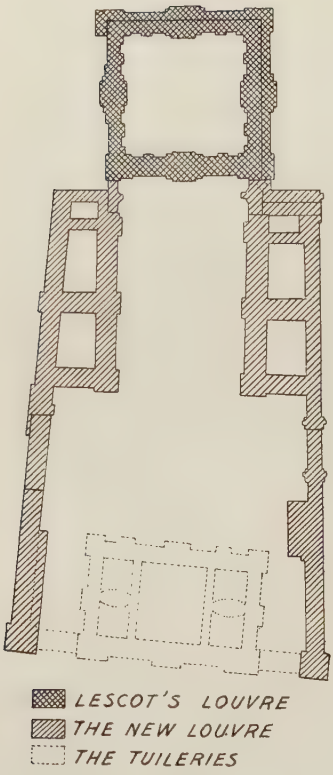


Fig. 391. — Plan of the Louvre and the Tuileries.

given to discussions and disputes as he rose in his profession. We do not know why Catherine chose him to direct the work. Possibly it was because he had lived for a long time in Italy where he had been the protégé of Cardinal de Bellay; the Queen always displayed a preference for anything Italian. In any case we know that in addition to this post Philibert de l'Orme was also employed by the royal favorite in the construction of the château of Anet which was intended to eclipse all the other royal dwellings. This would hardly have been any recomendation to the Queen.

On the death of Henry II, de l'Orme was deprived of his post in connection with the Tuileries, much as though he were being punished for having worked for the favorite. His place was taken by an Italian named Primaticcio from the colony at Fontainebeau. Diane de Poitiers was very naturally exiled from the court and was obliged to give up Anet and Chenonceaux in exchange for the less sightly château of Chaumont, also in the Loire country. De l'Orme devoted himself in his retirement to certain architectural works and discussions in which he makes many personal allusions and praises himself without stint. His treatises, *L'Architecture* and *Nouvelles inventions pour bien batir a petits frais,* propose new schemes for everything. Some of them would be extremely expensive methods, even if they were not quite impracticable. His fortunes were very different from those of Lescot, and the same is true even of his works. The château of Anet which he built for Diane de Poitiers is no longer what it was, and even the Tuileries, the favorite residence of Napoleon III, was burned by the Commune. Only a few fragments of the latter remain (fig. 392).

In spite of the predilection of Catherine for Italian art, most of the architects of her time were French. The Italians may be said to have hardly left their work at Fontainebleau, where they formed a colony apart.

The French architects, on the other hand, became more numerous and proficient in their art. Du Cerceau, whom we have already mentioned as the author of *Les plus excellents bastiments de la France,* is the apologist for the French style of this period. De l'Orme was also a writer of treatises as was Bullant, and their teachings were followed by Lescot's successors in the Louvre and even by the provincial architects. Among the last was Bachelier, to whom most of the edifices of the time at Toulouse are ascribed. Prominent among these are the Hôtel Lasbordes and the Hôtel Assézat (fig. 395) built for Pierre d'Assézat, ex-counsellor of the Capitole. The latter structure shows plainly the influence



Tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. *(St. Denis.)*

of Lescot and is like a little Louvre.

In Paris many buildings dating from the last half of the Sixteenth Century have come down to us. Their simple lines frame the stone walls with their grooved joints, and the only decorations are the bands and cornices as though in protest against the profuse ornamentation of the reign of Francis I. The Hôtel de Sully, probably the work of du Cerceau, is typical (figure 396). Here we note the influence of the Louvre even in the reliefs which repeat like a subdued echo the decorations of Jean Goujon.

Toward the end of the century new masters appeared, such as de Brosse, Mansart and Levau. Although some of these were born in the Sixteenth Century, we will leave them for the following chapter, as it was in the reign of the Bourbons that they produced their more mature work.

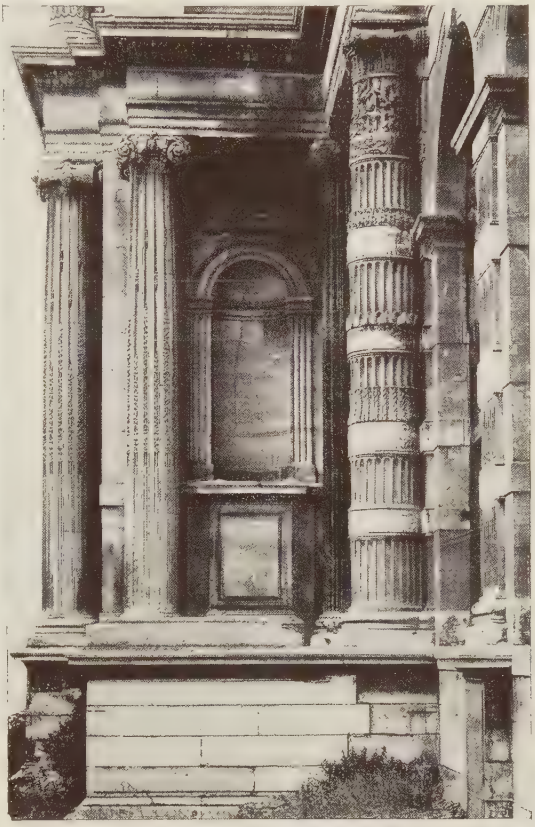


Fig. 392. — Philibert de l'Orme. Remains of the Tuileries after the Commune.

Whenever possible the châteaux of the kings and nobles were set off by gardens. We have already seen how the château of Francis I at Blois was equipped with galleries on the façades from which a view of the gardens could be enjoyed. But it was de l'Orme who was to determine the character of the French formal garden both by his writings and his actual creations. At Meudon he took advantage of the situation of the château on the bank of the Seine, where the ground sloped down to the river. Here he laid out terraces, stairways, pavilions with covered galleries and stucco grottos, and the same seems to have been done at St. Germain. At Anet we find the remains of a sunken garden surrounded by porticos and at the end a pavilion for concerts and a grotto containing baths.

The French landscape-gardeners paid much attention to these grottos and to other fanciful imitations of natural forms. Bernard Palissy in his *Jardin delectable* describes his ideal of a garden as an enclosed spot where the wildest sort of vegetation is combined with trees and shrubs trimmed to represent columns, architraves and cornices. A ceramic artist and a very versatile person in general, Palissy constructed the famous grottos of the castle of Ecouen and



Fig. 393. — Court of the Hôtel Bernuy. Toulouse.

those of the Tuileries; he made fanciful caverns full of stalactites and of colored terra-cotta reptiles with a skill that has never been equalled.

Nevertheless, the characteristic French garden is composed of terraces and shady avenues with sculptured fountains at their intersections. This type of garden was popular in France during all the Renaissance. In Italy nature was refined without being deformed, but in France it was moulded into geometrical and architectural forms. The results, however, are such that we cannot but overlook the falsity of the idea itself. The plains of Central France offered unbroken spaces of vast extent for the long terraced avenues, and the gardens of the Luxembourg and Versailles have as great an artistic significance as the Boboli Garden at Florence or the Villa Borghese in Rome, little as the two types resemble one another.

To accompany this monumental architecture, sculptors applied themselves with ardor to the imitation of the Italian models. But it is mainly on the tombs that we find works other than those of a purely decorative character. Usually the sepulchres of the Valois were like an open pavilion supported by classical columns, and in the interior was set the marble sarcophagus. On top we find the kneeling statues of the king and queen, while on the base allegorical figures of the Virtues keep watch. Of this sort was the tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany in St. Denis (Plate XXVIII), and the same is true of those of Francis I, Henry II and some of their counsellors like Cardinal Du Prat. The design became popular and is quite in keeping with the spirit of the time. It

will be remembered that Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II was also an open structure with statues of the prophets and the Virtues.

A number of names have come down to us as creators of these tombs and of other sculptures under the Valois kings, but space limits us to a consideration only of Jean Goujon. He truly belongs to this period and was the collaborator of Lescot in the work on the Louvre. The charming musicians' tribune supported by caryatids in the ballroom of the Louvre is his work (fig. 397). This salon is now a museum of Greek and Roman sculpture; in a cabinet at one end is the Venus de Milo, and yet the work of Jean Goujon appears very well in this exalted company. In collaboration with Lescot he carved the Fountain of the Nymphs at Paris which is a model of decorative grace. At first it was attached to a building, but it was later set out by itself and the front reproduced on the rear side. Later still, the reliefs were replaced by copies and the originals put into the Louvre (fig. 399). These have all the charm of a period when the technique of sculpture has been mastered and sophistication has not yet crept in. The nymphs of Jean Goujon are young and beautiful like the figures of a Parthenon frieze or the Ara Pacis, even though they may not be their rivals in artistic merit.

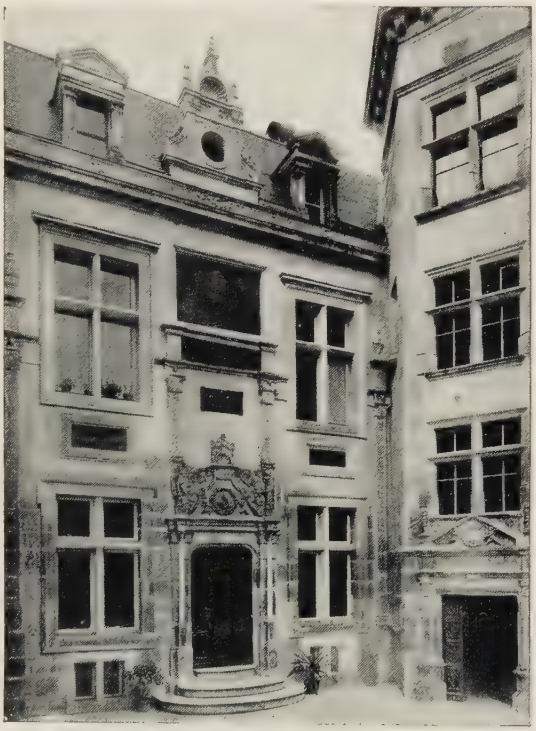


Fig. 394. — Hôtel d'Uzès. PARIS.

Jean Goujon was not only the first but also the greatest sculptor of the French Renaissance. In spite of the scarcity of the works of his that have come down to us, his aristocratic and refined style has never lost the esteem in which it was held at the time. We might say that Rodin is the first French sculptor to break away sharply from the traditions of the French Renaissance and turn, sometimes, to pure Greek forms, and again, to the French Gothic. We know little of Jean Goujon or his life. He may, like Diane de Poitiers, be a native of Normandy; at least a tomb in the cathedral of Rouen is believed to be his work. In 1542 we find him in Paris where he was punished for his leanings toward Protestantism. He is said to have been obliged to march in a procession of penitents and witness the burning of a Hugenot minister. In 1544 he was employed at Écouen by the Connétable de Montmorency and later associated



Fig. 395.—Hôtel Assézat. Interior of court. Toulouse.



Fig. 396.—Hôtel de Sully. Paris.

with Lescot in his work of the Louvre. This last post may have been due to the favor of Diane de Poitiers who was now the royal favorite.

As a testimony of the patronage of Diane de Poitiers we have his famous portrait of that lady represented as Diana accompanied by stag and hounds. It is one of the finest pieces of French sculpture that any period has ever produced; the eternally youthful figure of Diana is quite French in its proportions and has a singular elegance of bearing. The nude goddess leans against the body of the stag (fig. 400). From the very first it seems to have been appreciated as the marvel which it is and it was set in the château of Anet, the residence of the favorite. In one of the sketches of du Cerceau we see it in the centre of a court, *la cour de la Diane,* which would appear to have been especially constructed for this purpose. It is a miracle that the sculpture was spared when the château itself was destroyed during the Revolution. The masterpiece is now in the Louvre. Jean Goujon died in exile at Bologna, Italy, where he had fled to escape the persecution of the Protestants which accompanied the religious war in 1562. He can hardly be said to have had pupils, but his work was carried on by others, among whom Bontemps and Pilon were his imitators.

Only a brief survey of the history of French painting from



Jean Fouquet. Portrait of Jouvenel des Ursin. *(Louvre.)*



Fig. 397. — Tribune des cariatides. Louvre.

the beginning of the Renaissance to the end of the Valois period is required to show us how little was produced that was genuinely French. It would appear that painting advanced very slowly in France; only a single painter of the Fifteenth Century can be cited. This was "the good painter of King Louis XI, Jean Fouquet," as he called himself. He had travelled in Italy and studied in Rome with Filarete. Although he devoted himself to the illumination of manuscripts, he also painted portraits in oil following the technique of the Flemish artists. (Plate XXIX.)

In the Sixteenth Century the Italian colonies arrived, and we find Primaticcio and Rosso at work on the palace of Fontainebleau. Illustrious painters also came; Francis I invited Andrea del Sarto and Leonardo da Vinci, and the latter passed the last years of his life in France. Neither the continuators of Fouquet, who were influenced by Flemish art, nor the French pupils of the Italian colonies at Fontainebleau and Amboise, are of sufficient importance to merit discussion in such a general survey as the present work.

A family of painters by the name of Clouet carried on the traditions of the "painters of the King." These men succeeded in producing a national art with an elegance and distinction which is to be found only in France. The first of the Clouets, called Jean, came from Brussels and was followed by his son, François, more popularly known as Janet (figs. 401 and 402). The first Jean was *varlet de chambre* and painter of François I; his son seems to have studied the works of the German painter, Holbein, and produced a large number of crayon portraits of the notables at the court of the last Valois kings. (Plate XXX.)



Fig. 398. — Hôtel Lasbordes (interior of the main court). Toulouse.

François, or Janet, Clouet seems to have succeeded in gaining not only the esteem of the King, who made him inspector of the coins, but also in winning the friendship and recognition of the *pleyade* writers of the time. Ronsard benevolently calls François Clouet "the honor of our France." The latter died in 1572 and it was some years before another genuine French painter appeared.

In conclusion we will glance at the minor arts during this period. The ceramic art of Bernard Palissy and the tapestries were the two fields in which we



Fig. 399. — Jean Goujon. Fountain of the Nymphs. PARIS.



Fig. 400.—Jean Goujon. Diane de Poitiers as the goddess Diana, from the château of Anet. Louvre.



Fig. 401.—François Clouet. Diane de Poitiers at the bath. *(Cook Collection.)* Richmond.

best see the French tastes of this transition period.

Bernard Palissy is as famous for his autobiography as for his ceramics. He is the typical "self-made man" of the time. Ignorant of many of the details of ceramic technique, he rediscovered processes that had been known for centuries to all the famous schools of this art. The fact is that there was in France no tradition of pottery technique, and Palissy was obliged to discover independently the secrets of pastes and colors, much as though he had been the first potter. We know that his father was a painter of



François Clouet. Portrait of Mary Stuart.

glass and that the son was trained in the same profession, but this was of little help in the difficulties that arose in the matter of enamels and glazes. Working alone and with little equipment, Palissy succeeded in producing a new type of pottery, although it neither had the perfection in coloring attained by the Italian ceramists, nor did it possess the iridescent lustre of the Oriental ware. Palissy covered his pottery with scenes containing mythological figures, or sometimes only with flowers, fruits and animals in relief. The coloring, however, has the charm of originality; the creative force of a new type merits admiration quite as much as, or even more than, the beauty which has evolved from the tastes of one generation after another. It is for this that Palissy is great, and almost unique in his field. His style and his technique, imperfect as the latter may be, are all his own. Palissy died in the Bastille because of his Protestant faith, and not even the favor of the king, Henry III, could save him. Though he had given a new expression to the soul of France in his ceramic art, and though he had decorated châteaux and royal parks, it could not save him from the consequences of his heresy.



Fig. 402. — François Clouet. Portrait of Charles d'Amboise. *(Viena Gallery.)*

This was the great period of Brussels tapestry which is to be recognized by the mark, ꝗB. It was produced not only in Brussels itself, but also in the neighboring cities of Tournai, Enghien, Oudenarde and even in the old town of Bruges. These great tapestries with their mythological and allegorical subjects are usually surrounded by a broad border of flowers, leaves and fruits. In the centre are large figures admirably executed. The Italians went to Brabant to purchase tapestries, and Raphael sent his famous cartoons there to be executed in fabric for the furnishings of the Vatican. We soon find the effects of Italian art in the fabrics of France. Even the artists of the country were influenced by the classical Renaissance, and many of the mediaeval allegories and symbols which still appeared in the Brussels tapestries of the Sixteenth Century were replaced by Biblical or classical themes. The colors, too, became more brilliant. There were the beautiful Bible stories of the tapestries of Raphael, the triumphs of the gods in the château of Madrid, hunting scenes and pictures

of real life. Many tapestry factories were to be found in Paris. Francis I had established one at Fontainebleau in 1539 for which the designs were supplied by the Italian colony there. Another was founded in the Hôpital de la Trinité by Henry II. This was the beginning of a movement out of which grew the royal establishment in the Hôtel des Gobelins in the following century.

Summary. — A group of Italian artists were brought into France in the reign of Louis XII and installed in the château of Amboise. The most prominent member of this colony was a certain Fra Giocondo. With him came Domenico da Cortona, his pupil, who was a younger man and who remained in France until his death. Cortona's work is very characteristic; he constructed the wing of Francis I in the château of Blois, possibly the singular château of Chambord and the Hôtel de Ville at Paris which was an important structure. Among the constructions under Francis I we find the palace of St. Germain, the château of Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne built in memory of the King's captivity, and the palace at Fontainebleau. In the last named he established another colony of Italians, among them Rosso from Ferrara and Primaticcio. Benvenuto Cellini was also at Fontainebleau for a time. The second Valois, Henry II, and his favorite, Diane de Poitiers, devoted their attention to the rebuilding of the Louvre. The work was entrusted to the architect, Pierre Lescot, with whom the great sculptor, Jean Goujon, collaborated. Lescot only lived to complete one angle of the court, but his successors did not abandon the style which he initiated. In the meantime Queen Catherine de Medici built the Tuileries Palace which was later connected with the Louvre. The architect of the Tuileries was Philibert de l'Orme of Lyons. This man was of a quarrelsome nature but a great artist as well; in some respects he surpassed Lescot. De l'Orme built a number of other princely residences, among them the Château d'Anet for Diane de Poitiers. Here was the famous statue of Diana by Goujon, now in the Louvre. Goujon was the only real French sculptor of this period. In addition to his work in the Louvre, he collaborated with Lescot in the Fontaine des Innocents. The reliefs representing nymphs pouring water are sculptures of exquisite beauty. In painting only the portraits of Clouet are characteristically French; everything else is in imitation of Italian art.

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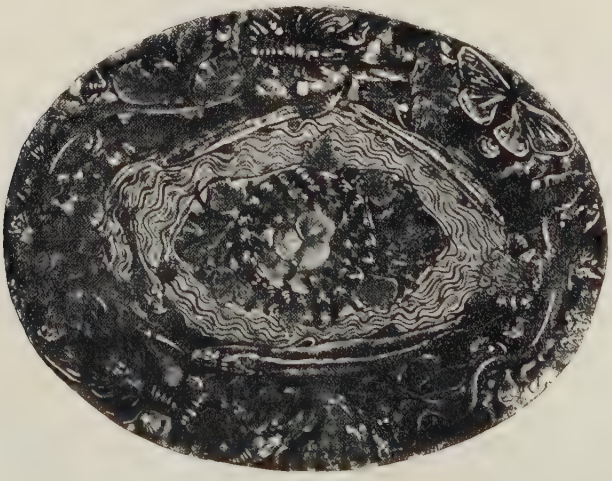


Fig. 402. — French ceramic dish of Palissy



Fig. 403. — View of Heidelberg Castle from across the Neckar.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY DURING THE REFORMATION.
ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.— ALBRECHT DÜRER, LUCAS CRANACH AND HOLBEIN.

In Germany we find a remarkable reaction to the artistic Renaissance which stirred all Europe. It was not, as in Italy, a happy attempt to restore classical art to the world, nor was it a penetration of Italian art, as in France and Spain. What we really find is a rebirth of the old Germanic spirit, now inspired by the Reformation and by the revival of learning which was taking place everywhere in Europe. Dürer, to whose writings we shall frequently refer in this chapter, is still regarded as the foremost exponent of German art. Like Leonardo and Sangallo, he theorized on the art of fortification, the size and proportions of the human body, and geometry, architecture and painting. "Nevertheless," he writes, "I am convinced that others will come who will write on these matters and paint better than I, for I know the true value of my works and their faults. Would to God that I might see the works and learn the art of the great artists of the generations to come! How often in my dreams have I perceived great works of art and beautiful things which vanished when I awoke, taking with them even the sweet memory which they left with me! Let no one be ashamed to learn, for a great work requires reflection and study."

These words are a revelation of the spirit existing in Germany at that time. Leonardo and Michelangelo said more or less the same thing, but with a very different feeling. They, too, studied, analyzed, criticized and hoped, but their



Fig. 404. — Court of Heidelberg Castle.

ideal of beauty was not a dream; it was a living reality. Their masters were not of the future but of the past; they were the ancient sculptors of those marbles which seemed to come again to life when they were dug up from the ruins of the old buildings. As we have already noted, the great spirits of Italy and Germany were at one only in their desire for knowledge. Common to both was that freedom of criticism which was the forerunner in the field of art; however, in the countries of the Reformation the new ideal, like Dürer's dream of beauty, vanished without ever defining itself. However much we may admire the Reformation in its other aspects, it must be admitted that in architecture and sculpture it produced few results from an artistic standpoint. In the course of this chapter we shall be able to study the works



Fig. 405. – Heidelberg Castle.
Wing dating from the period of Elector Otto Henry.

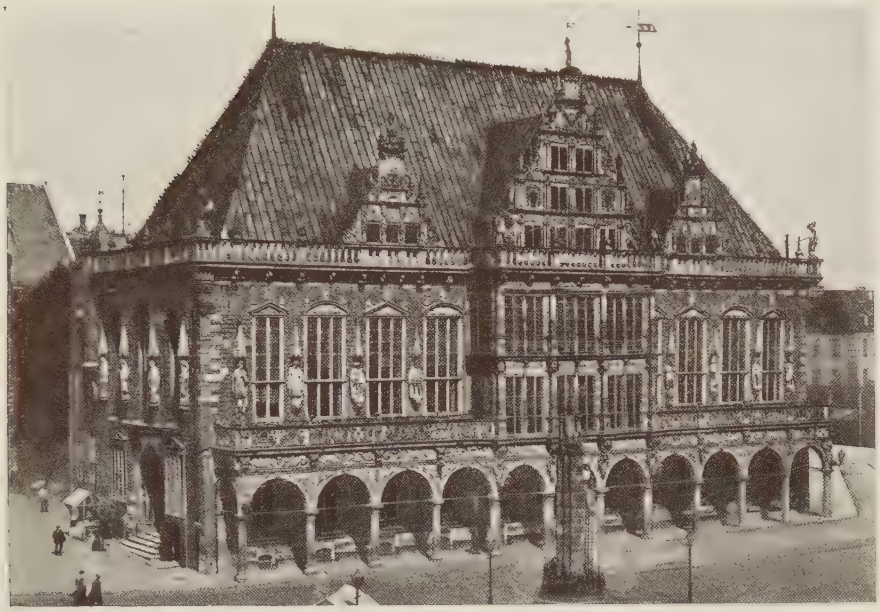


Fig. 406. — Municipal Hall. Bremen.

of two or three painters who were truly great, but there is hardly a sculptor or architect of the period whose name evokes the memory of anything new. In the hated Rome of the Popes, the apocalyptic Babylon of Dürer's engravings, the colossal cathedral of St. Peter's and many other marvelous churches and palaces were being raised, but in Germany, torn by political and religious struggles, the new architectural forms appear only in a number of public buildings, guild-halls and town-halls.

This was not due to the Reformation in Germany being inimical to art. The great Gothic churches and cathedrals were preserved intact; Melancthon also recommended the preservation of the stained glass windows, "because they were never the objects of worship." As in the souls of men, so in many cities the Reformation was a gradual process. It is still difficult to determine whether Erasmus, Dürer and Holbein were Protestants as we use the term today. The real consequences of the Reformation were not evident until later, and the intellectual rebels of Germany did not fully realize the importance of their act when they reestablished communion of both kinds and celebrated mass in the vulgar tongue. Some of the religious orders, such as the Benedictines and the Augustins, even cooperated in a movement which seemed at the time to be nothing more than a harmless reform. The rupture with Rome would never have been complete if political and economic factors had not entered into the matter. Emperor Maximilian was accustomed to say that the Roman Curia drew from his territories twice the amount of his own taxes. The Empire was divided into a number of separate and almost independent states, and these, often disregarding matters



Fig. 407. — Cloth Hall. Brunswick.

of conscience, broke away or remained faithful to Rome as the political considerations of the time dictated. This explains the fact that a considerable part of Germany is still Catholic, while in Switzerland the Canton of Fribourg changed its religion a number of times. Also the whole of Savoy, at the very gate of the great Calvinist city of Geneva, remained faithful to the Pope and unaffected by the new movement. The true religious Reformation and the fulfilment of Christ's commands is still to come.

This digression has been by way of explaining to some extent how a movement of such important social consequences as the Reformation produced so few results in the field of art. The men of the period interest us, it is true, but we cannot feel much enthusiasm for their works. The travels and the original and observing mind of Erasmus compel our admiration, but we could get along very well without his *Moriae encomium*. There was no true conversion in the spirits of the majority of the people. Later on during the religious wars many great characters appeared, but by that time the struggle itself did not allow sufficient leisure for the appearance of a new school of art.

The most singular thing of all was the slight extent to which Italian art penetrated the country, although it was recognized as superior. Most of the German artists and literary men of the Sixteenth Century travelled in Italy, and Germany was filled with Italian architects, but their efficiency, in the sense of winning followers, was much less than that of the Italians who worked in France and Spain. The wandering court of Maximilian and Charles V had its official residence in Southern Germany, and here Italian influence was more apparent. But in the



Fig. 408. — Old houses. FRANKFORT.



Fig. 409. — House at Bremen.

North the style of the Low Countries made its influence felt to a much greater extent.

The most famous monument of the Sixteenth Century in Germany is Heidelberg Castle, now in ruins. It was burned by the French during the wars of the Revolution and only restored in part (figs. 403, 404 and 405). Its picturesque site is today the favorite object of pilgrimage on the part of the romantic students who seek in these ruined walls the visions of their forebears and who see the birth of their spirit in the days of Dürer and Martin Luther. The structure is situated on a beautiful wooded slope (fig. 403). The castle itself, set about a rectangular court, is composed of buildings dating from various periods (fig. 404). The Sixteenth-century wing which dates from the time of Elector Otto Henry and gives the entire building its character, was added to the older portions (figure 405). It is markedly in the Flemish taste; sculptors were brought from the Low Countries to carve the statues for its façades. The wing of the time of Frederick IV, which has been recently restored, is built in imitation of the preceding, and here the Flemish influence is even more apparent. The tall dormer gables



Fig. 410. — Old House. Hildesheim.



Fig. 411. — House of the Golden Angel. Hildesheim.

of its façades end in a silhouette of curved forms like the buildings of Flanders and Holland. This is almost the only princely residence of the period which has been preserved in Germany, but the great Free Cities still possess handsome municipal halls in which we note something of the style of the Renaissance. Augsburg has a town-hall built in the early Seventeenth Century, but the architect, Elias Holl, sought to imitate the great Italian monuments which he had seen on his travels, such as the Doge's Palace in Venice and the basilica at Vicenza. Some of these German municipal buildings have a lower gallery, or portico, and a terrace or balcony on the first floor. This is the case with the town-hall at Rothenburg and the characteristic one at Bremen (fig. 406). Set against the façade of the latter are statues of kings and electors such as we find in the Gothic municipal buildings of Germany, but the portico below is quite Italian. The main body of the structure, on the other hand, and the dormers belong rather to the style of the Low Countries. At Cologne the municipal hall has two galleries with arcades more classical in style than the one at Bremen.

The guild-halls are sometimes very large, but they tend more to preserve the old German style. Italian decorations appear only in the details; the stories rise above one another regardless of the classical proportions, and the structure terminates in a complicated gable-end, embellished with reliefs and other sculptures. One of the most characteristic of these is the Cloth Hall at Brunswick which is entirely of stone (fig. 407). The private residences are the same long tall structures which remind us of the Gothic houses (figs. 408 and 409). Only the decoration is changed; we now find caryatids and complicated volutes. Sometimes the upper portion is of wood, or the façade is covered with a coat of stucco painted in a style more or less classical. Characteristic German decorations are the obelisks which surmount the buttresses and pilasters.



Fig. 412. — Last Supper. Altar-piece in the church of St. James. ROTHENBURG.

In the Harz region where wood was plentiful, the houses are timbered and the upper stories project over the street as in the Middle Ages (figs. 410 and 411). Only the ornamentation tends to become classical in character, but with apparent reluctance.

This brief mention of the Sixteenth Century building of Germany will indicate not so much what there is as what is lacking. We find very little that is really great and modern in comparison with what was being produced during this period in Italy, France and Spain. The same is true of sculpture; the themes, the treatment of drapery and the polychrome and gilded decorations of the Middle Ages still persisted. Although the results were sometimes very successful, they never achieved that lofty imitation of reality which was the aim of Italian art. Take, for example, the famous Last Supper on the altar of the church of St. James at Rothenburg. It is the work of a



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 413. — Albrecht Dürer. Portrait of himself. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 414. — Albrecht Dürer. Portrait of himself. *(Pinakothek.)* MUNICH.

great sculptor by the name of Riemenschneider who worked in the Sixteenth Century, and yet there is nothing at all modern in the figures of which it is composed (fig. 412).

When we come to the field of painting, however, it is another matter. Here we find at least three of the greatest modern masters, Dürer, Cranach and Holbein, to say nothing of such men as Altdorfer, Wohlgemuth and Grünewald. The last is little known as but a single work of his has come down to us.

Albrecht Dürer was a native of Nuremberg and he always proudly added the words, *noricus civis* to his signature. Notwithstanding, the father of the greatest German painter was a goldsmith born in Hungary, although of German ancestry. "A man honest and skilful," writes the son in his memoirs, "having nothing more than the product of his labor which was hardly sufficient to support his wife and children. He sent me to school until I could read and write; then he took me and taught me his own craft. But I, esteeming more the painter's art than that of the goldsmith, told my father so, causing him regret for the time wasted, until he apprenticed me to Michael Wohlgemuth that I should serve him for three years. During this time God gave me diligence to learn, but I had to suffer much from his assistants."

When he came out of the studio of Wohlgemuth, Dürer began his travels through various parts of Germany which lasted four years, Wanderjahre like those of Wilhelm Meister. The remarkable portrait in the Museum at Madrid gives us an idea of his elegant appearance in which there is, nevertheless, not the slightest affectation of superiority (fig. 413). Another portrait by himself was greatly admired by Goethe. "When I returned home," he continues in his memoirs, "Hans Frey arranged with my father to give me his daughter, Agnes, with a dowry of two hundred florins, and we were married on the Monday before St. Margaret's day in the year 1494." No children were born of this marriage. Dürer's wife, who survived him, accompanied him on some of his journeys, but she does not appear to have been a spiritual personality or a particularly interesting companion. Dürer's inner life must have been a solitary one. He enjoyed many friendships and was in touch with the intellectual and artistic world of his



Albrecht Dürer. Melancholy. Copper engraving.

time, but the depth of feeling existing in the man himself was never appreciated by his contemporaries. We see him at his best in the marvelous portrait in the Munich Gallery painted when he was twenty-eight years old and had been married six years (fig. 414).

For the time being Dürer had his home and studio in Nuremberg where he was on friendly terms with the best people. The burgomaster, Willibald Pirkheimer, advanced him one hundred florins for a journey to Venice; it is possible that he had been there before. This was in 1505, when Dürer was thirty-four and at the height of his genius. In one of his letters from Venice he writes: "That which pleased me eleven years ago does not please me now." In the latter city the artist lived in the colony of German merchants there and painted the altarpiece for their guild-chapel. "I have good friends among the Italians," he writes, "but I have been advised not to eat or drink with the painters." Evidently the latter did not think much of Dürer as he did not attempt sufficiently to imitate the ancient Greeks and Romans. "He is not an ancient," they said. The only one who displayed a generous affection for him was Bellini, the oldest and best painter in Venice at the time. Dürer's letters give us an idea of the esthetic curiosity which was awakened in Germany prior to the Reformation; his friends overwhelmed him with commissions to purchase rare jewels and books for them. All these addressed him through the Imhoffs who were the dilettanti bankers of Nuremberg

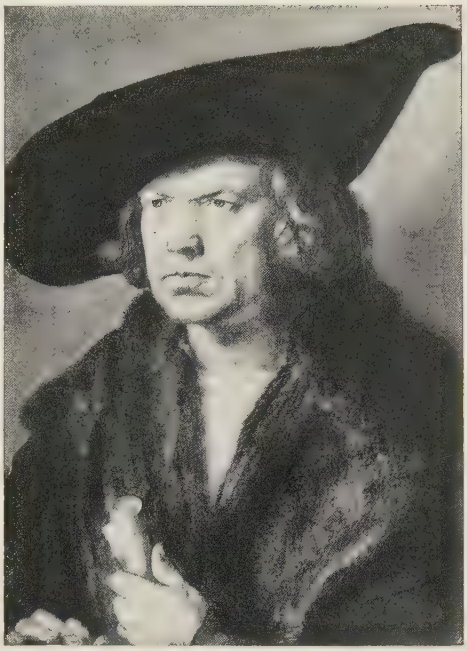


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Fig. 415. - Albrecht Dürer. Portrait of Hans Imhoff. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

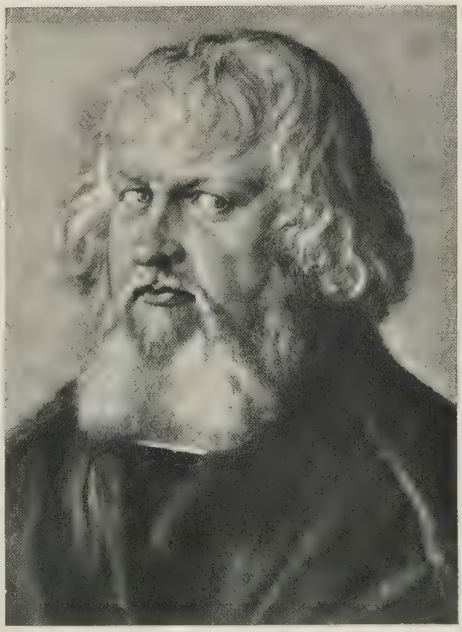


Fig. 416. — Albrecht Dürer. Portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher. *(Berlin Museum.)*



Fig. 417.—Albrecht Dürer. Adoration of the Magi. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

and, like the Medici, had their branches in every part of Europe. In the Prado at Madrid we have Dürer's portrait of Hans Imhoff, the head of the family at that time (fig. 415).

Dürer's beautiful Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi at Florence (fig. 417) was painted before this journey to Venice, but the greater number of his pictures were executed after his return. Many of them are admirable portraits which bear testimony to the profound psychology and artistic genius of this man (figure 416).

Most of his famous engravings date from the same period; this was an art which did not require such close relations with the purchasers as did his paintings, a thing which he was not very fond of. His letters tell us of a Frankfort merchant named Heller who had ordered a picture of him and the annoyance both to himself and to the poor burgher who did not wish to die before the completion of the painting which he intended for the chapel where he was to be buried. Dürer was not a misanthrope, nor had he the geniality of Leonardo. We might better compare him with El Greco or Michelangelo. His soul was ever tormented by something which he himself could not explain; much less could others understand it.

Notwithstanding, his reputation increased and contributed not a little to the





Albrecht Dürer. St. John and St. Peter. St. Paul and St. Mark. *(Pinakothek.)* MUNICH.



Fig. 418. — Albrecht Dürer. Adoration of the Magi. Drawing. *(Albertina.)* Vienna.

wide popularity of his woodcuts and engravings which ran through edition after edition and spread even to Italy. (Plate XXXI.) Emperor Maximilian, shortly before his death, granted him a pension of a hundred florins a year, and the most talented men in Germany felt honored by his friendship. Nothing gives us a better idea of the esteem in which he was held than the diary of his journey to the Low Countries which he undertook in his latter years in 1520. The humblest persons received him as a great master; even the inn-keepers would not accept pay or were satisfied with one of his sketches. Princess Margaret, the sister of Charles V who was regent of the Low Countries, also received him with favor, and the painters of Antwerp gave him a splendid banquet in their guild-hall. "On Sunday, the fifth of August," he writes, "the painters invited me to their house together with my wife and her maid. The entire service was of silver and there were other handsome decorations... The food was most costly. All the wives of the painters were present at the company. I was seated at the head and they, at either side, as though I were a great lord. All did everything possible to be agreeable to me, and when seated thus with such honor the magistrate of Antwerp came with two servants and presented me with four jars of wine in the name of the city council offering me every good wish. Afterward came the master of the carpenters and presented me with two more jars, offering me his good offices. Thus we passed a pleasant evening until very late, and all the company accompanied us to our lodgings with lanterns in great honor."



Fig. 419. — Dürer. Lucretia.

On this journey to Flanders, Dürer naturally admired the great pictures of the Fifteenth Century masters. At Brussels he "saw four paintings by the great master, Roger van der Weyden" and at Ghent, the polyptych of the Lamb by the Van Eycks, "a most precious painting full of thought." With the curiosity of his race he also desired to see everything that was strange and remarkable. A lion at Ghent seems to have interested him as much as the Van Eycks' picture, and he made a trip to see a whale which had been captured in Zealand. The curiosities from America filled him with amazement. These must have been trophies from Mexico, for it was the year 1520 and Dürer had the opportunity to view "the things which people have brought to the Emperor from the land of gold." There was a golden sun, a silver moon and two chests filled with arms and objects which he found beautiful and admirable. "Never in my life have I seen anything which pleased me so much, for besides their art, I was surprised at the subtle ingenuity of the people of those strange lands." In his curiosity and excitement at these remarkable things he exclaims, "I do not know how to express my feelings in regard to these things." It was not strange that the Italians did not find such a man "enough of an ancient."

We have quoted these picturesque details, for it is rare to find a great artist like Dürer giving such an intimate and personal account of his own life. His last years were spent in his home at Nuremberg, where he was already considered to be one of the most important personages of his time in Germany. But his success did not dull the keen spirit of the artist; it was during this period that he created his greatest work, the famous diptych representing the apostles John, Peter and Paul together with St. Mark. This was Dürer's most popular painting. It remained in Nuremberg for a century, and then it was pre-



Fig. 420. — Lucas Cranach. Fountain of Diana.
(Museum of Cassel.)



Fig. 421.—Lucas Cranach. Adam and Eve. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

sented to Maximilian of Bavaria. The work is now to be seen in the Munich Gallery. (Plate XXXII.)

The record of the acceptance of these panels is dated the 6th of October, 1526. A year and a half later the artist died and was deeply mourned throughout



Fig. 422.—Lucas Cranach. Portrait.
(Brussels Gallery.)

Germany. Luther wrote on hearing of his death: "Christ in the plenitude of his wisdom has removed him from these difficult times and possibly from still more turbulent days to come, in order that one who was worthy of seeing only good things might not view the wickedness and sadness that awaits us. May he rest in the peace of the Lord." This was the reaction of Germany to the death of her greatest artist. Dürer represents his nation in his keen desires. He was not only a genius, but popular as well; what he suffered and felt in his heart the people saw in his woodcuts and engravings as they may not have perceived in his paintings. Many contemporary writers tell of his relations with the leaders of the Reformation, and yet Dürer does not seem to have actively taken sides with either party. We might rather say that he took sides with what was best in both parties. His engravings condemn the Rome of his time, but his evangelical pictures show the traditional respect for the Magi, the Virgin and the like. His engravings were eagerly sought in Rome; Michelangelo admired them. Through his agents in Flanders Raphael proposed to exchange them for his own drawings. The men of the Reformation cultivated his friendship. Melancthon, who often ate with Pirkeimer and Dürer, was accustomed to say that excellent as he was in the art of painting, nevertheless this was the least of his talents.

He had had no master, and he left no pupils. He learned his technique in the studio of Wohlgemuth, but his spirit was formed by his travels. Nevertheless, Dürer's woodcuts, engravings and writings exercised the greatest influence on the succeeding generation. Down to the end of the Sixteenth Century a series of less important masters preserved the traditions of German painting in the South. The most popular of these was Lucas Cranach, whose studio in Wittenberg was the centre of great artistic activity. Here he worked together with his son and a number of pupils. We know nothing of Cranach prior to 1504, but he must have already achieved a reputation, for at this time he was appointed court painter to the great Elector Frederick, the most prominent protector of the Reformation. Four years later he was granted the right to armorial bearings, and

in 1509 he went as ambassador to the Low Countries to attend the coronation of Emperor Charles V. Still later he married, and existing documents show that he acquired a pharmacy and a book-shop. These are strange doings for a painter, but what is still more remarkable, he became city-treasurer and burgomaster in 1537 and 1540. In 1553 he died at the age of eighty-one. Cranach was decidedly the painter of the Reformation. Luther and the foremost Protestant humanists were at Wittenberg, and for these men he painted portraits, genre pictures and mythological allegories. Dürer had already represented the nude human form in a manner characteristically German, as we see from the Adam and Eve in Florence and the rather plump Lucretia in the Munich Gallery (fig. 419). The feminine form becomes even more Teutonic in Cranach's pictures. His Eve in the Uffizi Gallery is a woman of the mediaeval German type; she is tall and of a matronly figure in spite of her small ingenuous face (fig. 421). But the charm of feminine beauty has almost entirely disappeared from the curious nude woman representing Diana at the fountain in the Cassel Gallery (figure 420). In the Frankfort Gallery is Venus with an upturned nose and covered with a transparent veil (fig. 423). Her body, like that of all the representations of the female form at that time, shows the effects of the high corset then in vogue.



Fig. 423 — Cranach. Venus. *(Frankfort Gallery.)*

These figures of German women contrast strongly with those depicted by the great Italian painters of the same period. At the very time when Dürer and Cranach were portraying Venus and Eve with slender waists and poorly formed hips, Titian and Giorgione were painting their immortal figures of marvelous women. Dürer himself was conscious of his inferiority in this respect. "The Italians



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Fig. 424. — Lucas Cranach. The Flight into Egypt.
(Berlin Museum.)

are to be praised," he writes Pirkenheimer, "for their nude figures, and especially for their perspective." Notwithstanding, the profound psychology of Cranach's and Dürer's portraits surpasses that of the Italians. The portrait of a man by Lucas Cranach in the Brussels Gallery, with its brilliant eyes, its mouth and the nervous curve of the nose, shows what the Wittenberg painter was capable of doing when he applied all the power of his genius (fig. 422). Cranach and his contemporaries, Grünewald and Altdorfer, are also masterly landscape painters. In their scenes we find natural and romantic surroundings, moist trees, mossy ground and a fanciful mountainous background. The marvelous Flight into Egypt in the Berlin Museum bears the date, 1504, and is one of his earlier pictures (fig. 424). The romantic vegetation of the setting and the subject itself make us forget that he was the official painter of the Reformation. The angels are like the gnomes of Grimm's fairy-stories, although they have not the roguery and playful spirit seen in the religious pictures of Altdorfer, the famous Ratisbon painter.

Little is also known of Albrecht Altdorfer. His career as a painter began in 1505, and he died in 1538. He seems to have known Dürer in his years of travel and they always remained friends. Altdorfer is the most romantic of all the German painters; in his pictures we experience the emotions that Wagner was to evoke with his music centuries later. Altdorfer's religious paintings are filled with strange lights, great lakes and mountains. Sometimes we see the moon through the clouds or trees. His St. George in the Berlin Museum, a solitary horseman in a thicket of maples, reminds us of Siegfried in the forest on his way to encounter the dragon.

We have already referred to the great personality of Mathias Grünewald, who seems to-day the author of a single work. He painted several others; we find pictures of his in the galleries, but we forget them all before the altarpiece, now incomplete, in the Museum of Colmar. It is an extraordinary work. Painted for the monastery at Issenheim, it represents the Temptation of St. Anthony, the Crucifixion and the two Marys mourning over the body of Christ. (Plate XXXIII.)



Mathias Grünewald. Crucifixion. Entombment of Christ. *(Museum of Colmar.)*

It has color, power and originality, and it is remarkable that such a work should be so little known. The coloring is magnificent with its extraordinary effects of light on the drapery of the figures, and the realism of the compositions is most striking.



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Fig. 425. — Altdorfer. St. George. *(Berlin Museum.)*

We may well ask who this great painter was of whom we know little more than his name. One of the old chronicles of the epoch complains, saying among other things: "It is a great misfortune that this man together with his works has been so forgotten that I find no one to give me any account of him; nor are there any traditions of his memory or writings mentioning Grünewald. He lived the greater part of his life in Mayence, sad and alone, the victim of an unhappy marriage." He probably died in Colmar about the year 1529.

The last German painter of the Reformation was Hans Holbein, the younger, who painted only portraits. Although he was born in Augsburg, Holbein spent the time when he was not travelling in Basel. In the museum of this city we still find the most important collection of his works, and the name of Holbein is always associated with this place. While he settled in England and passed the latter part of his life there, it was at Basel that he painted the great masterpieces of the Reformation.

The little Swiss city on the banks of the Rhine was an important student centre on account of its university and printing establishments at the time Holbein came there. It was natural, therefore, that he should go to Basel with the purpose of illustrating books. Erasmus lived there at that time; Holbein executed a number of portraits of him which have become very popular. The Basel publishers, men like Froben and Amerbach, were not only commercial printers, but also scholars and collectors of note. Holbein received a number of commissions from the city council and well-to-do burghers, mostly for frescoes, but these works have largely disappeared. The predella, or base, of the famous altarpiece representing the Passion gives us some idea of his earlier work. The series was reputed to be Holbein's masterpiece (fig. 426). For all that, the figure of the dead Christ, with the open mouth and eyes of an executed person, is painful



Fig. 426. — Holbein. Christ in the tomb. *(Museum of Basel.)*

and surprising, almost terrifying, to the traveller who views it in the little hall of the Museum of Basel. Christ, the man, is dead; the more human his inanimate body now, the greater will be the glory of the Resurrection. The realism with which this dead man is represented is in keeping with the spirit of the Reformation; opposite we see Erasmus, perhaps, translating St. John from the Greek for the first time, or the portrait of Amerbach, the intellectual printer, with his graceful cap and an accompanying inscription in praise of his scholarship (fig. 427).



Fig. 427. — Holbein. Portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach. *(Museum of Basel.)*

Not everybody in Basel was for the Reformation; there was not the unanimity which surrounded Dürer at Nuremberg or Cranach at Wittenberg. The burgomaster, Jacob Meyer displayed his loyalty to the Catholic Church by ordering of Holbein an altarpiece representing himself, wife and children at the feet of the Virgin. The work is now regarded as one of the artist's best



Fig. 428.—Holbein. Portraits of the burgomaster, Jacob Meyer, and his wife. *(Museum of Basel.)*

pictures. His Virgin and Child have a youth that Raphael's Madonnas might have envied; her mantle has the exquisite shade of a red enamel. The portraits of the Meyer family, too, are painted with the distinguished realism so typical of Holbein's works.

Years before he had painted portraits of this same Meyer and his wife on two panels (fig. 428). The good burgomaster and his wife who is still handsome are Swiss types and admirably done. On the altarpieces, however, which Holbein must have painted some ten years later, Meyer appears older and his dead wife, wrapped in a shroud, appears beside his second wife.

The efforts of Meyer and others who pursued a conciliatory attitude could not keep the struggle between the Reformers and the partizans of the Church on a purely intellectual plane. The two factions



Fig. 429.—Holbein. Portrait of a young man. New York.



Fig. 430.—Holbein. Portrait of Henry VIII. *(Galleria Corsini.)* Rome.

finally became so embittered that art became almost impossible. Erasmus moved away from Basel, and Holbein, leaving wife and children behind, boldly set out for England, armed with letters of introduction to the great scholar and reformer, Sir Thomas More. Here he painted a portrait of More and his family that has since disappeared. Gradually he established a connection with the court and painted portraits of Henry VIII (fig. 430), his wives and counsellors. We have eighty-seven portrait-drawings executed by Holbein during the next fifteen years. Some of them were preliminary sketches for paintings that were never carried out, but many portrait-paintings have come down to us as well, and it is to Holbein that we owe our intimate knowledge of the English aris-



Fig. 431. — Holbein. Portrait of Richard Southwell. FLORENCE.



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Fig. 432. — Holbein. Portrait of an ambassador. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

tocracy during that interesting period (figs. 431 and 432). These portraits are the more valuable for his remarkable ability to catch a likeness and his disdain for flattery, no matter how exalted his sitter. Holbein's prosperous career in England was suddenly cut short in 1543, when he died of the plague at the early age of forty-six. Here, as in Basel, he was widely esteemed, and his untimely death was deeply felt.

Summing up the artistic results of the early Renaissance in Germany, we might say that with the general public today only Holbein's portraits and, perhaps, some of Dürer's engravings enjoy any wide-spread popularity. Reproduced by the thousand, they carry something of their beauty to the walls of the modern home. The great creations of Altdorfer and Grünewald also have their admirers, it is true, but their influence hardly extends beyond the confines of a narrow circle of connoisseurs.



Fig. 433. — Holbein. Portrait of himself. *(Uffizi Gallery.)*

Summary. — In Germany the Reformation gave rise to no great artistic impulse. In architecture, façades continued the arrangement prevalent during the Gothic period; only a pseudo-classical decoration began to be em-

ployed. During a religious struggle we might expect to find new temples adapted to the Reformed Faith, but nothing of the sort occurred. The old cathedrals and churches were employed; only the altars were taken out. A number of town-halls and guild-halls were constructed which offer a certain interest. In private residences we find the same system of one story above another surmounted by a big gabled roof. In the forest country of the Harz Mountains the houses are of wood; only the panels are decorated with classical themes and the mythology of the Renaissance.

In painting, however, two great masters achieved results which have never been surpassed in any German school of art. The first of these was Dürer, a man of vigorous genius and at the same thime possessing a wealth of feeling. His life was spent in Nuremberg except for his journeys to Venice and the Low Countries. At Nuremberg he painted his pictures and executed the engravings and woodcuts to which he owed his widely extended popularity. He was a reflective person and a man who lived by himself. He wrote a number of treatises which he left uncompleted, but they were mostly published by his friends after his death. His travel notes are of exceptional interest. He sketched everything he saw and enriched his experience with these observations to which he would afterward devote close study when he was alone and at leisure.

A contemporary of Dürer was Lucas Cranach, the official painter of the Reformation. He was fond of the exotic paganism which the German humanists attempted to bring into the country. Nevertheless, his nude goddesses are women of a German type. There is little of the Latin in his representations of Venus and Diana. Another great painter of the Reformation was Grünewald who give a religious and tragic note to the movement.

The second outstanding figure of the period, however, was Hans Holbein, the famous portrait-painter. He was born at Augsburg, but Basel was the scene of his artistic development. Here he enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus and Amerbach. Religious struggles and the consequent decline of art drove him to England where he became the court painter of Henry VIII.

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Fig. 434. — Martin Luther. *(Museum of Brunswick.)*



Fig. 435. — Niccolo Salvi. Fountain of Trevi. Rome.

CHAPTER XIV

BAROQUE ART IN ITALY. — THE BAROQUE PALACES AND CHURCHES OF ROME. STREETS, SQUARES AND FOUNTAINS. THE SPREAD OF BAROQUE ART. — SCULPTURE: BERNINI. PAINTING: GUIDO RENI, DOMENICHINO AND CARAVAGGIO.

We are still ignorant of the details of the origin and formation of baroque art. In the history of art this is one of the periods which needs most the investigations and corrections of the critical scholar. Not only is there the greatest obscurity regarding many of the most essential facts of this period which seems so close to our own, but also the conclusions drawn from the figures and events of the time have until recently been either mistaken or lacking in accuracy. It was taken for granted that it was a period of decadence and frivolity so far as art was concerned, and of immorality, almost, in religion and life generally. It was supposed to have been a time of indulgence in which there was nothing profound in either art or science, of reaction, of pompous religious ceremonies and indifferent cardinals. And yet St. Theresa, St. Philip Neri and Pascal all belong to this period.



Fig. 436. — Borghese Palace. Rome.

We shall see how much was done in the field of art, what buildings were constructed, in good taste or in bad, at Rome during this epoch. It was the Golden Age of Spanish painting; surely there was nothing of frivolity here, and it was the period of great scientific discoveries. Spinoza, Descartes, Newton, Kepler and Copernicus all lived during this time. It may be difficult to defend the baroque for certain liberties, or even immoralities, in its art and in its life; but the more closely we become acquainted with the cardinals, the nobles and the society in general of those centuries, the more sympathetic we inevitably become. The mistakes of this period can hardly be justified, but if we view its handicaps at the same time, we begin to appreciate better its good qualities. In many respects we are still related to the baroque; our modern life is founded on many of its conquests, and the conceptions of today find their origin in that period of unrestrained liberty when anything could be thought or said, if only the esthetic conventions of outward form were preserved. Even what we call the French Revolution was nothing but a product of the baroque period: d'Alembert, Diderot and Rousseau, men of the new era, were at the same time the last leaders of the baroque epoch. And yet, if we were required to state just what were the characteristics of the society and style of the time, we should find it very difficult to define them. We hardly know when it began, and we are even ignorant of what the word, baroque, means. Some claim that is derived from the Greek *baros* meaning heaviness and others, that it derives from the Latin *verruca,* or wart. The term has also been connected with a Portuguese word, because certain faulty pearls were called baroque. It is still uncertain whether the baroque style began at Naples or in Rome. It was in the



Fig. 437. — Longhi. Garden of the Borghese Palace. Rome.

latter city that it achieved its best results, but the South of Italy also accepted it with great enthusiasm.

Today the term, baroque, has become a very general one. By it we understand an accumulation of forms in almost any style, excessive ornamentation, the addition of one decorative element to another, each curved or otherwise transformed and employed for purposes for which it was not originally intended. For example, when a column is twisted to such an extent that it will no longer support any weight, it is an indication of the baroque, for a column is naturally a vertical support. When an architrave, instead of continuing in a straight horizontal line like the beam it is, becomes curved or broken, we have another symptom of the baroque. The same is true when a pediment, which should represent a low gable, is broken or opens in the centre, and when the folds of drapery do not fall by their own weight but seem to float in the wind. When garlands and festoons are indefinitely multiplied, when dolphins are employed as columns and angels transformed into caryatids, and when the various elements are combined in an incoherent manner, these are all baroque extravagances. By baroque, then, we mean a presentation of ideas and details in which the forms are not logical.

If we accept this definition of the baroque, it is not so difficult to determine its origin and fix its point of departure from the Renaissance. Until fairly recently it was supposed that the baroque was created by the artists of the Seventeenth Century; Bernini and Borromini were pointed to as the fathers of the Italian baroque, while as a matter of fact they were nothing more than its enthusiastic propagandists. We now begin to discern symptoms of the baroque at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, and by some Michelangelo is almost held responsible for the movement. Indeed, if the baroque is an accumulation and unnatural rendering of forms, it cannot be denied that we find indications in the works of Michelangelo and his followers of the style which Bernini and Borromini were later to develop more fully. In his monumental architecture, such as the apse of St. Peter's, Michelangelo adhered to the rule of the classical



Fig. 438. — Bernini. Façade of the Barberini Palace. Rome.

styles as laid down by Vitruvius; but in such works as the tombs of the Medici, his design for the façade of S. Lorenzo and the bases and reliefs employed in connection with some of his sculptures, the style is frankly baroque. A number of the decorations, masks, brackets and medallions are plainly an anticipation of the tastes of the Seventeenth Century. The same could be said of his followers. The sculptured base and the complicated ornamentation of Benvenuto Cellini's Perseus are quite baroque; none of the Seventeenth-century sculptors could have executed a work that complied more completely with the requirements of that style. Another immediate successor of Michelangelo, Giacomo della Porta, planned the façade of the Gesù, or Jesuit Church, at Rome which has long been regarded as the first baroque structure. The truth probably is that with the Jesuit Church, Rome began to be conscious of the new style which was already in process of formation.

By the end of the Sixteenth Century we encounter Algardi who planned the chapel of the Palace of the Quirinal with its baroque decoration, Pietro Bernini, the master and precursor of his son, and other architects and sculptors of the generation intervening between Michelangelo and the great masters of the baroque style. These continued to develop the style, for the baroque, like all artistic innovations, did not come at once but was the result of a gradual progress.

But it is not our purpose to discuss at length the obscure problems arising in the history of art; we are more interested in results. In any case the baroque was the art of the Seventeenth Century and continued down to the middle of the



PHOTO MOSCIONI

Fig. 439. — Staircase of the Barberini Palace. Rome.

Eighteenth, when a neoclassical reaction supplanted it. From Italy the baroque spread to every part of Europe. At first this style is not seen in the lines of the façades; its liberties began in the decoration, especially in that of the interiors. On churches like the Gesù and S. Andrea della Valle, which date from the last half of the Sixteenth Century, the symptoms of the new style are seen rather in the statues and the decoration of the niches than in the general lines of the building itself. After all the baroque was always a sculptural style; it was the sculptors, working as architects, who created baroque architecture. The same was true of the private palaces. Take for example the monumental façade of the Borghese Palace at Rome (fig. 436). Only the initiated will see in it signs of the baroque; at first sight one might think that its geometrical arrangement had been planned by a man like Sangallo or Raphael. Only certain details of the cornice, the balcony and the shield over the entrance betray the builder's lack of respect for classical tradition. A Renaissance architect would have divided the great wall into structural divisions to relieve somewhat the effect of the endless series of windows. In the interior, however, there is no longer any doubt; the fountains with their curved pediments, garlands and caryatids are plainly baroque (fig. 437).

New families became prominent in Rome, and fortunes changed hands. The Colonna, Orsini and Caetani families gave way to the Borghese, Doria and Barberini to which the Popes of the baroque period belonged. Consequently the Borghese, Barberini and Doria palaces were now the great private mansions of the time. The Barberini Palace is not as great as the Borghese, but its lordly magnificence is most attractive; in front of it is a garden with a handsome wrought iron enclosure (fig. 438). The structure is the work of all the great Roman masters of the baroque style. Maderna, Bernini and Borromini all worked on it, one after another. Although it reminds us of the Farnese Palace, the main façade by Bernini shows the progress made by the baroque, and the terraces in the rear, the stairway (fig. 439) and the gardens have entirely the atmosphere of the Seventeenth Century.

But nowhere in Rome do we see on the exteriors of the buildings the



Fig. 440.—Fernando Fuga. Palace of the Consulta. Rome.

license which Churriguera took in Spain or the Jesuits, at Naples. The extravagance of these baroque masters is hardly to be found in the palace of the Consulta near the Quirinal or the Chamber of Deputies on Monte Citorio, although the latter is the work of Bernini and both date from the Seventeenth Century (figs. 440 and 441). The arrangement of the exterior is always decorously classical. Only toward the middle of the century did Borromini have the audacity to break his façades with curved walls, give fanciful outlines to his domes and distort his campaniles with a spiral twist like that of S. Andrea delle Fratte. Characteristic of this tendency are the famous church of S. Agnese on the Piazza Navona (fig. 442), the Jesuit University called the Sapienza, the delightful little church of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane and Il Sudario which is still more beautiful (fig. 443).

To this period also belong the completion and decoration of S. Peter's, the work which gave the great cathedral its present aspect. The interior was finished by Maderna who also made a design for the façade. Bernini had constructed some belfries for St. Peter's; we can judge of them only from the drawings, as they have luckily fallen. He also executed many statues for the interior, the holy water fonts, the pontifical throne and the great bronze altar with its enormous canopy ninety feet high. On the last much criticized work he spent more than eight years. The St. Peter's of Maderna and Bernini is the cathedral the visitor hastily views today. Only careful study reveals the church of Bramante and Michelangelo. Nevertheless, we must admit that these baroque sculptors and decorators produced an effect of magnificence surpassed in no other modern building. This was the period also when the piazza was laid out in front of the



Fig. 441. — Bernini. Palace on the Piazza di Monte Citorio. Rome.

cathedral. It was planned by Bernini and is, beyond question, one of the finest monumental compositions in the world. It is sufficient in itself to justify the entire period. The piazza has the form of an open elipse, for it is composed of two arcs set about two hundred and eighty feet apart. In the centre rises the ancient obelisk from Caligula's circus, and on either side plays a fountain whose spray is like a tall plume waving in the wind. Around both ends extends a great colonnade of four rows of Doric columns (fig. 444), and between the two porticos we see the façade of the basilica. On the side opposite the cathedral Bernini planned a monumental entrance to the piazza. It appears in the sketches and on medals; indeed, it was about the only embellishment that was not added to the monumental composition.

Not only the approach to St. Peter's, but the entire city as well was beautified by the baroque architects and sculptors. Rome, as we see it today, is the city created by the cardinals and Popes of the baroque period. Each Prince of the Church improved the neighborhood of his palace with new streets, squares and fountains. The three great avenues leading from the Piazza del Popolo to the Campus Martius, the Capitol and the Quirinal were laid out during this period; and the same is true of the Piazza di Spagna with its fountain in the form of a ship and its baroque stairway crowned with the ancient obelisk that dominates the entire city. The monumental effect is one that could be achieved nowhere but in Rome. There is an abundance of water to supply the fountains, the hills lend a perspective to the avenues and squares, and the venerable remains give an atmosphere of antiquity as a background to the whole.

The baroque fountains are an important feature of the city. The ancient



Fig. 442.—Borromini. Church of S. Agnese on the Piazza Navona. Rome.

acqueducts continued to bring water in greater quantities than were needed by a population much less numerous than that of the Rome of the Caesars. The architects of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries took advantage of this fact to beautify the city with handsome fountains that have been imitated all over the world. The most important of these are the famous Fountain of Trevi and the Acqua Paola. The former takes its name from the source of its water at Trevi, and the latter in the Trastevere is supplied from the Lago di Bracciano (fig. 445).

In the Fountain of Trevi we see that graceful affectation of roughness so characteristic of the baroque. There is an attempt to imitate the natural rocks of a river bed, and behind is the façade of a palace with classical lines, just as though a rocky stream had been transported to the interior of a city (fig. 435).

Another noted fountain is that of the Four Rivers on the Piazza Navona, the work of Bernini (fig. 446). Here, too, is the same combination of natural forms and finished architecture. The base is a sort of rock on which trees and mosses are skilfully carved, and upon it are allegorical figures representing the Danube, Ganges, Nile and Rio de la Plata. Out of the stone the water gushes incessantly, and above it rises an ancient Egyptian obelisk with its geometrical lines. Sometimes the fountains are composed of a group of sculptures, like the Fontana delle Tartarughe, or tortoises, where the bronze figures of four youths are gracefully combined with the basins of colored marble (fig. 447). Again natural forms were employed in an attempt to achieve an impossible effect, as in Bernini's rather injudicious Fontana del Tritone on the square where the gardens of the Barberini Palace begin. Seated upon a large shell is a Triton blowing a conch and spraying a jet of water into the air which dissolves into a mist at every breath of wind (fig. 448).

Another work which Bernini executed in the same vein is the graceful monument in front of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Here a small ancient obelisk is set on the back of an elephant caparisoned in rich trappings (fig. 449). The same ornamental effects were also produced in the suburban villas of the Popes and cardinals during the baroque period. Outside the Porta del Popolo the Borghese family constructed a great villa with extensive grounds, and in spite of subse-

quent attempts to spoil it, this is still one of the glories of Rome. Here we find preserved today the glamour and pomp of the time when it was built. Thickets of century-old live oaks and tall pines alternate with open glades strewn with artificial ruins, sarcophagi, statues and rustic fountains. It formerly occupied an immense area. Behind the Casino, now a famous museum, was an enclosed garden and cultivated fields, the rural simplicity of which contrasted strongly with the aristocratic avenues and grounds in front.



Fig. 443. — Church of Il Sudario. Rome.

We find the same contrast in the Villa Doria-Pamphili across the Tiber. In size it is second only to the Villa Borghese. Here, too, behind the monumental entrance is a large park laid out in avenues. Then we come to the villa proper with its private garden (fig. 450) of trimmed box and geometrical terraces; beyond is the Roman Campagna stretching away endlessly in the distance with its herds of cattle and its shepherds dressed in skins as in the time of Aeneas and Evander. Both the architect and the Roman prince for whom it was created had the good taste to realize that the Roman landscape was the finest setting a country residence could have.

The baroque architects and landscape gardeners had a genius for seeing the natural advantages offered by the ground itself, and the park of each villa has a character all its own. Not only is the architecture of the Villa Doria different from that of the Villa Borghese, but even the light and atmosphere seem changed. Contemporary with these two villas was that of Cardinal Ludovisi, a great friend of Cardinal Scipione Borghese. He, too, was an admirer of Bernini and a connoisseur of art. The Villa Ludovisi has dissappeared to make room for a modern residence district, but its antique marbles are now in the Museo delle Terme and form, perhaps, one of the most important contributions to that splendid collection.

Another villa dating from the last years of the baroque period is that of Cardinal Albani. It, too, is noted for its collection of antique marbles and was built by Carlo Marchionne in the middle of the Eighteenth Century. In their present form the Vatican Garden and the Casino del Papa also date from the baroque period, although the latter was built by Pirro Ligorio in 1560 (fig. 451). Many of the villas at Frascati, a neighboring town in the Alban Mountains, are



Fig. 444. — Bernini. Colonnade of the Piazza S. Pietro. Rome.

also baroque, such as the Villa Falconieri which was built by Borromini. The same is true of the famous Villa d'Este as it appears today.

Losing none of its characteristics, the baroque style spread over the rest of Italy. In the Kingdom of Naples, we hardly need to say, it was accepted with enthusiasm. Whole cities, like Lecce, were rebuilt by the Spanish viceroys in the most ostentatious baroque style. Later, under the Bourbons, Vanvitelli constructed the royal palace at Caserta which is a sort of Neapolitan Versailles. It is an enormous structure, and the stairway is not lacking in magnificence. The gardens, however, although as extensive as those at Versailles, do not possess the grandeur or the unique character of those of the palace of Louis XIV and Louis XV.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 445. — Maderna. Acqua Paola. Rome.

Most of the churches and monasteries of Sicily were either built or restored during this period. Here are still brighter combinations of colored marbles, a style initiated by Bernini, which made Sicilian architecture a mosaic of every sort of material.

In Central and Northern Italy the baroque also spread in triumphant fashion. Even in Florence the Pitti Palace was finished with baroque ceilings. About the middle of the Seventeenth Century the graceful dome of S. Maria della Salute was erected in Venice. Its



Fig. 446. — Bernini. Fountain of the Four Rivers on the Piazza Navona. Rome.

silhouette is one of the most characteristic features of the Grand Canal today. The architect, Baldassare Longhena, also built the Rozzonigo and Pesaro palaces in the same city (fig. 452).

In Milan, too, we find many baroque edifices, among them the Brera and Poldi-Pezzoli palaces, and the cathedral was somewhat questionably embellished with baroque additions. Turin is almost a baroque city, as the style was at its height when the House of Savoy rose to power. The Palazzo Carignano, the Superga which was the royal burial-church, and the château of Stupinigi all date from this period.



Fig. 447. — Fontana delle Tartarughe. Rome.

Although baroque architecture may be open to ques-



Fig. 448. — Bernini. Fontana del Tritone. Rome.



Fig. 449. — Bernini's obelisk. Rome.

tion with its confused ornamentation and its lack of respect for every law of statics and dynamics, nevertheless it cannot be denied that in the field of sculpture the period has produced many exceedingly interesting results. One of the most estimable works of early baroque in sculpture is Maderna's St. Cecilia, a beautiful youthful figure of the martyr lying prostrate. There is in this work a compassion so deep and sincere that it ennobles the entire period (fig. 453).

But the greatest baroque sculptor in Italy was Bernini, whose acquaintance we have already made as the architect of the Piazza S. Pietro and many of the fountains and palaces of Rome. Bernini achieved the greatest success during his lifetime and was almost idolized by the generations that succeeded him. But when the neoclassical reaction finally came, he was criticized in the most scathing fashion. They held him responsible for all the mistakes of the baroque school which, it was felt, must be cast into oblivion if anything good was ever to come out of art. Winckelmann consigned Bernini and all his works to everlasting perdition, and the other men of the neoclassical restoration felt the same. Mengs, Thorwaldsen and all the rest were the enemies of Bernini. During the



Fig. 450. — Algardi. Villa Doria-Pamphili. Rome.

Nineteenth Century Bernini was regarded as a skilful sculptor, but an artist of wretched taste in every sense of the word. Hardly more than a decade ago we begin to find a tendency to rehabilitate his reputation, but today he is considered a man of extraordinary genius and his works are daily growing in esteem.

Lorenzo Bernini, known in his own time as the Cavaliere Bernini, was a thoroughly Roman artist. He was born in Naples in 1598, the son of a sculptor from Florence who never achieved more than mediocrity. His chief claim to merit seems to have been that he was able to set the footsteps of his son in the path of art. The latter first attracted notice in Rome through his monument for Bishop Santoni, majordomo of Sixtus V, in the church of S. Prassede. Paul V commissioned him to execute his portrait, and from this time on Bernini became a favorite at Rome. Cardinal Borghese ordered of him a group representing the Rape of Proserpina as a gift for his friend, Cardinal Ludovisi. At the age of twenty-eight Bernini carved for Cardinal Borghese himself a group of Apollo and Daphne which is a marvelous triumph of technique and originality (fig. 455). Apollo is pursuing the nymph who transforms herself into a laurel. Leaves sprout from her fingers and her body is already turning into the trunk of the shrub. The execution of the entire group is amazing. Bernini is noted for his marble surfaces; the body of Daphne is smooth, delicate and pearl-like, such as we should expect in a supernatural creature. With such works as these to his credit, it is not surprising that he enjoyed an enviable reputation among the sculptors of Rome. Indeed, he exercised an artistic dictatorship which he never



Fig. 451.—Pirro Ligorio. Casino del Papa. Vatican Garden. Rome.

abused. Like a good Roman, he perpetuated in marble the features of his mistress, the popular Costanza Bonarelli, and later, at the age of forty, he married a patrician lady by the name of Caterina Tozzi. He had eleven children and died in full possession of his powers at the age of seventy eight. Such was the life of this able sculptor whose many successes and great reputation never spoiled him. Few artists have enjoyed the favor and consideration of the great as did Bernini. When Cardinal Maffeo Barberini was elevated to the pontifical throne, he remarked to the sculptor: "It is fortunate for you to have Cardinal Barberini for Pope, but it is even more so for me to have Cavaliere Bernini living under my pontificate."

When we come to discuss the completion of the Louvre, we shall see how Bernini was called to Paris by Louis XIV who wished to get his opinion on the various plans under consideration. Although Bernini's project was not carried out, Colbert never ceased to show his great esteem for the Roman sculptor, and he advised the directors of the newly founded Accademia di Francia that they should secure Bernini's aid in the instruction of their students. The greatest French sculptors of the time of Louis XIV and XV, such as Puget and Pajou, might almost be called pupils of Bernini.

In spite of all this praise, Bernini worked harder than ever at his art. Active, enthusiastic and full of resource, he never failed to arouse the interest of Rome with his creations. These were not only works of sculpture and even painting, but great architectural projects as well, such as the colonnade on the Piazza S. Pietro and the palaces he planned. In addition to all this, he also arranged

scenery for the stage, pageants, festivals, fireworks, arches and funerals with imposing catafalques; he seems to have had time and ideas for everything. He was not merely a director; he could do the work himself. He modelled stucco *in situ* and combined marble and metals with a technique that no one has been able to imitate.



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 452. — Longhena. S. Maria della Salute. VENICE.

But first of all he was a sculptor. Bernini's portrait sculptures are most admirable; he gives us a vivid picture of the Roman notables of the baroque period, the remarkable character of whom we are only now beginning to appreciate (figs. 456 and 457). They are so lifelike that we can almost see characteristic movement of each individual. "A person," he was accustomed to say, "is never so completely himself in an attitude of repose as he is when he moves." As architect and sculptor combined, no one could plan commemorative monuments and tombs like Bernini. The sepulchres of his patrons, Alexander VII and Urban VIII in the Vatican are still much admired. The most highly esteemed of his works, perhaps, is the Ecstasy of St. Theresa in the transept of S. Maria della Vittoria at Rome. The entire chapel is a lavish display of jasper and other brilliant stones combined in the most extravagant baroque style. On the two walls and in both balconies appear the members of the Cornaro family carved in white marble. On the altar, carved with matchless delicacy, is St. Theresa. A baroque angel is about to strike her with the arrow of love. The folds of St. Theresa's mantle are of extraordinary beauty, and the entire group is marvelously executed. (Plate XXXIV.)

Before he died, however, Bernini was to strike a loftier note of Divine love in the recumbent figure of St. Ludovica Albertoni in the church of S. Francesco a Ripa (fig. 458). Anyone who imagines that baroque art sought only to animate life with beauty and elegance should look upon this statue and learn from it the true meaning of love. The men of Bernini's time were concerned with more than



Fig. 453. — Stephano Maderna. St. Cecilia. *(Church of S. Cecilia.)* Rome.

villas, festivals and display; they had before them such characters as St. Philip Neri, souls aflame with charity, and this could not but be reflected in their art. The statue of St. Ludovica Albertoni was Bernini's swan-song; he carved it in 1675 and died five years later.

The other sculptors of Rome, Bernini's contemporaries, filled the churches with handsome altars and tombs. The city was transformed, and the second great Rome is that of baroque art.

Nevertheless, the most famous painters of the later Sixteenth Century were not Romans but Bolognese. The three brothers Caracci founded an eclectic school of art and an academy in that city where they taught and propagated their doctrines. Their idea was to select one of the best qualities of each of the artists who had preceded them and thus combine the excellencies of all the schools of art. Perfection was to be attained by a process of synthesis. This aim was, of course, never realized; it was a sure road to mannerism and academic routine. However absurd their system, the Caracci brothers themselves produced a number of interesting works. Moreover, this attempt of the Caracci to produce an art artificially, like the synthetic product of a laboratory, is sufficiently unusual to deserve study. We might even call it a pathological disorder of the artistic spirit, and give the history of the case. The first of the Caracci was Lodovico, the son of a butcher at Bologna. He had studied in the school of Tintoretto at Venice where he displayed



PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 454.—Bernini. Portrait of Costanta Buonarelli.



Bernini. Ecstasy of St. Theresa. *(Church of S. Maria della Vittoria.)* Rome.


PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 455. — Bernini. Apollo and Diana. *(Borghese Gallery.)* Rome.

little artistic promise. Patient study enabled him to achieve a certain mediocre ability, but as he realized that his drawing would always be weak, he persuaded his two nephews to devote themselves to the study of painting. These were Agostino and Annibale, the sons of a tailor. Lodovico's idea was that his nephews should each study in a different school at first and work together later with the assistance of a good master of anatomy. As a part of this scheme, the academy of the Caracci was well equipped with copies of the great works of every school of art and an abundance of artistic treatises. Of the three, Agostino was the only one who possessed a genuinely artistic temperament, and his Confession of St. Augustine is really an inspired work of art. Lodovico never left the academy at Bologna, which had been named the Incamminati, indicating that its members were on the Right Road. Annibale and Agostino were called to Rome to paint the gallery of the Farnese Palace which is an interesting piece of work. In spite of the manifest weakness of their system, the eclecticism of the Caracci had its effects. It did not entirely quench the spark of genius which Agostino undoubtedly possessed, though it can hardly be said to have helped his art. Such a method could not promote the creation of masterpieces, for which it was hoped it would be a labor-saving device. There was a sad lack of continuity in the inspiration, not only of the Caracci themselves, but in their pupils as well. Collaboration was impossible; there was jealousy, rivalry and distrust in this academy where perfection was the sole aim.

Guido Reni was, perhaps, the most outstanding of the Caracci's pupils. He entered the academy at the age of twenty and soon became Lodovico's favorite. Annibale, on the other hand, immediately perceived that this young man "knew too much already." These were strange words for a school where the principal idea was that one could never know enough. When Guido Reni became aware of this unsympathetic attitude, he left the academy of the Incamminati and went to Rome where he could work independently. Here, in his youthful enthu-



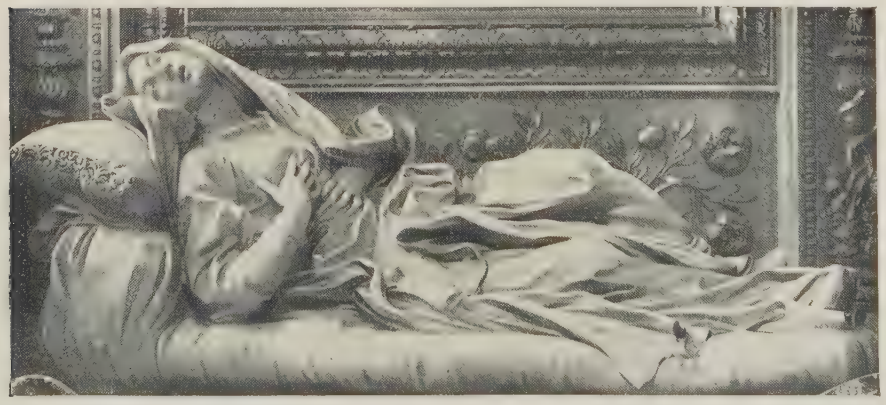
Fig. 456. — Bernini. Portrait bust of Donna Olimpia Pamphili.



Fig. 457. — Bernini. Portrait bust of Innocent X. *(Doria Gallery.)* Rome.

siasm, he painted his one great work, the only one which is still widely admired. This is the great fresco on the ceiling of the casino in the garden of the Rospigliosi Palace. We see the chariot of Apollo surrounded by the Muses and following in the train of Aurora (fig. 459). The freshness and spontaneity of this composition seem hardly compatible with the teaching of the Caracci. We are impressed with the youthful vigor of every figure. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a more vivid picture of Dawn awakening the world, than this fresco of Guido Reni, so full of life and movement. Unfortunately the subsequent work of this artist is characterized by its unbearable insipidity, and, what is worse, he painted so indefatigably that the museums and private galleries of Europe are still filled with his pictures.

Another pupil of the Caracci was the gentle Domenichino, whose delicate



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 458. — Bernini. St. Ludovica Albertoni. *(Church of S. Francesco a Ripa.)* Rome.



Fig. 459. — Guido Reni. Aurora. *(Rospigliosi Palace.)* Rome.

perceptions and mild angelic temperament seem out of place in this strenuous century. Indeed, his life was hardly a happy one. Even in the academy of the Caracci they began to scoff at his meekness, calling him the Ox. At Rome he encountered only envy and unfair criticism, and this malignant persecution pursued him to Naples where he decorated the Capella del Tesoro. The shameful treatment which he suffered from a cabal of Neapolitan painters certainly shortened his life, and hints of poison where not lacking when he died.

In opposition to the methodical scheme of the Caracci arose an apostate, a violent rebel by the name of Michelangelo Caravaggio. Instead of seeking beauty through the absorption and synthesis of only that which was already perfect, he attempted to find it in the crudest reality of nature, in the most humble living things, in the people of the street. Caravaggio is especially interesting to the people of Spain, for he was Ribera's master. On rare occasions, however, he painted religious pictures. His Entombment in the Vatican Gallery is one of the ablest works of the Naturalistic school. This picture alone would be sufficient to immortalize any artist (fig. 460).



Fig. 460. — Caravaggio. Entombment. *(Vatican Gallery.)* Rome.

In the minor arts we hardly need to say that the baroque style predominated as much or even more than in architecture. As we

have already noted, Bernini himself executed the great canopy over the high altar of St. Peter's in Rome. In the furniture, ritual objects, tapestries and fabrics of the period we find an expression of the taste of the baroque period (fig. 461).

Summary. — We know little of the origin and early history of baroque art. The period has not been sufficiently studied in a spirit of true criticism, and many opinions long prevalent regarding it have had to be discarded. The baroque style may be said to have begun with Michelangelo; it developed in the hands of his followers in the Seventeenth Century and lasted until the middle of the Eighteenth, when a neoclassical reaction set in. Baroque means the employment of unsuitable and extravagant forms, or elements which have lost their genuine significance. The baroque style probably had its origin in Rome, but it was accepted with enthusiasm all through Southern Italy and Sicily. In the North its influence was strongly felt at Venice. Turin was practically rebuilt in the baroque style. The great artists of this period were the followers of Michelangelo: Giacomo della Porta, Algardi, Maderna, and particularly Bernini and Borromini. In the field of art Bernini was one of the most significant figures of the time. His fame spread to France where he was summoned by Louis XIV to give an opinion on the projects for the Louvre; but his life was spent at Rome. Here he constructed some of the most beautiful fountains in the city and laid out the great square in front of St. Peter's with its monumental colonnade. First of all, however, Bernini was a sculptor. His works are full of grace and originality, and the technique with which his surfaces are executed is unsurpassed.

In the field of painting we first encounter the Bolognese school of the Caracci brothers who attempted to analyze and select the best qualities of the great masters and thus create an academically perfect style. A little later we find the rebel Michelangelo Caravaggio, the first great naturalistic painter, and the refined Domenichino. These two were the last great exponents of the Roman school of painting.

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Fig. 461. — Candelabrum. *(Treasury of St. Peter's.)* Rome.



Fig. 462. — Basin of Apollo. Gardens of Versailles. Paris.

CHAPTER XV

FRENCH ART UNDER THE BOURBONS. — THE COMPLETION OF THE LOUVRE.
THE LUXEMBOURG. — VERSAILLES. — ROCOCO DECORATION.
PAINTING AND SCULPTURE: POUSSIN, LANCRET, WATTEAU, FRAGONARD, PAJOU.

With the accession to the throne of the new Bourbon dynasty, the religious wars that had darkened the reigns of the last of the Valois finally came to an end. Unhappy France was again at peace and art began to flourish anew. The first of this family to occupy the French throne was the famous Henry IV of Navarre. A thorough Gascon, he nevertheless adapted himself to the temperament of the French better than any of the monarchs that had preceded him. He it was who really laid the foundations of modern France. Under his son and grandson, Louis XIII and XIV, the work begun by Henry IV was carried on by a series of such able ministers as Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert and Sully. This was the Golden Age of France, *le grand siècle* as the French call it. There was industry and wealth at home and universal respect abroad; able generals imposed favorable terms of peace on all the neighboring countries. But it did not last. Decadence set in under Louis XV in the next century. Deterioration and economic disorder resulted in poverty for the masses, although art still continued to flourish. Then came the cathastrophe, the Revolution, but by this time French art was too well established to be wiped out.

In a survey of the field of art during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries under the Bourbons we shall find important men and great works, especially in architecture. In our opinion, neither have as yet been properly appraised.



Fig. 463. — Colonnade of the Louvre.

The French, naturally, have always considered these men to be the founders of their national art. Even when a French architect attempts to construct something both original and modern, he still continues to repeat the forms of the Louvre, the Luxembourg or the Tuileries; and, indeed, their creators were as excellent artists as the Italians. But the renown and the well deserved reputation of the French artists of the Renaissance have been obscured by the widely spread fame of the Italians. The names of Bramante, Michelangelo and Palladio absorb the attention of the world; one would think that Italy was the only country to create a great art in modern times, and we either forget or seem unable to appreciate the real value of what has been accomplished by the Spanish and French.

The first example of the French architecture of the period to draw our attention is the work done in completion of the Louvre, then the royal palace. The reader will recall that at first it was a French Gothic castle, the stronghold of St. Louis and Philip Augustus, of which only the pictures in the miniatures of the time remain.



Fig. 464. — The Luxembourg. Paris.

At the beginning of the Renaissance the monarchs did not find Paris itself much to their taste, and the court resided in some provincial château like those of Amboise, Blois or Chambord. Henry II, or rather the royal favorite, Diane de Poitiers, was the

first to recognize the necessity of a royal palace at the Capital, in keeping with the customs of the time. We have already followed the destruction of the old Louvre and the beginning of a new palace which Lescot built for Henry II and Diane, while at the same time Philibert de l'Orm was constructing the Tuileries for Catherine de Medici, the Queen.



Fig. 465.—Institut de France. Paris.

The work on the Louvre was interrupted by the religious wars; the last of the Valois monarchs preferred to reside at the château of Blois, away from the turbulent capital whose streets were reddened with Catholic and Huguenot blood. When the diplomacy of Henry IV finally reestablished peace, the King undertook a series of improvements in Paris. Among other things he proposed to complete the Louvre which was still more or less as Lescot had left it. The architects of Henry IV and his successors prolonged the two existing wings and added two more, thus enclosing the rectangular court which still forms the main part of the Louvre. Here, particularly in the interior, it is interesting to note the manner in which these architects respected the taste of their predecessors. They seem to have resigned themselves to doing little more than continue the enterprise undertaken by Lescot more than a hundred years before.

Later this quadrangle was enlarged by two long wings which extended laterally joining the structure with the Tuileries. At this point the history of the Louvre becomes somewhat confused; all the great court architects had a part in the construction of these galleries, and it is difficult to distinguish the work of each one. Levau, du Cerceau, and possibly Mansart as well, all worked on the long gallery which ran along the river bank between the quadrangle of the Louvre and the Tuileries. On the façade of this wing Palladio's "gigantesque order" predominates; the general lines are those of the colonnade, and between the pillars are the windows lighting the different stories.

Henry's successor, Louis XIII, was no such lover of Paris as was his father, and he took little interest in the work on the Louvre. He preferred his hunting-lodge at Versailles. Although as yet it gave no indications of becoming a great



Fig. 466.—Porte St. Denis. Paris.

palace, the King spent most of his time here. Richelieu, however, well understood the prestige accruing to the throne from the great palace at the capital, and he never failed to encourage the enterprise as did Colbert after him in the reign of Louis XIV. Toward the middle of the Seventeenth Century a competition was opened for the façade of the east wing which still remained uncompleted, and Lemercier, Marot and Claude Perrault all submitted plans. The last named was little known in comparison with the other two. At this time the King was preoccupied with the palace at Versailles, but at the suggestion of Poussin, Colbert summoned Bernini from Rome to give his opinion, and the great baroque master set out for the court of France. We have a description of the journey in the diary of a member of Bernini's suite. From the moment he entered France the Roman architect was received with every honor, and when he arrived at Paris he decided in favor of the plan which accorded most with his own characteristic style. King Louis XIV, of whom Bernini made an admirable portrait-bust, came in from Versailles to lay the corner-stone, and after a month Bernini returned to Rome where the work on the colonnade of St. Peter's required his immediate presence. Colbert, however, was hardly the man to be greatly impressed by Bernini, and the latter had hardly left when the minister suddenly rejected the plan and entrusted the work on the façade to Claude Perrault. It was Perrault's project, therefore, that was carried out (fig. 463). A lower story, pierced by windows, forms a basement for the gigantic colonnade which supports the entablature of the roof. The composition, generally speaking, is the best of any by the French architects of that period; there is a central division surmounted by a pediment, a connecting wing on either side and a pavilion at each end.

Just as Catherine de Medici began the construction of the Tuileries for her own palace, so did Maria de Medici, the Italian wife of Henry IV, erect the Luxembourg. The Queen desired to imitate the Pitti Palace of her native city and sent to Florence for plans. But the architect in charge of the work had too much of a personality of his own to be satisfied with merely copying an Italian structure. This was Salomon Debrosse who was unquestionably the ablest architect of his century. He came of a family of architects; his grandfather and his two uncles were all members of the profession. He was a Huguenot and as such

constructed the Protestant church at Paris which served as a model to all the others in France. The Luxembourg is set about a rectangular court, and the entrance pierces the main façade. We have here a characteristically French arrangement. There is a central pavilion; the wings are rather simply decorated with pilasters; and the pavilions at the two ends are surmounted by high mansard roofs. The Palace of the Luxembourg is the gem of French Renaissance architecture and the most typically Parisian of any of the palaces in the city. Its gardens, too, have a distinction that is unsurpassed (fig. 464).



Fig. 467.—Bouchardon. Fontaine de Grenelle. Paris.

It was during the reigns of Henry IV and Louis XIII that Paris began to take on its present appearance. This was due not only to the royal palaces which we have described, but also to the extensive improvements undertaken by the government to relieve the congestion existing in the old mediaeval quarters. This work consisted chiefly of opening up squares like the Place des Vosges which still retains much of its appearance at that time. Another similar one was the Place Royale; they were all rectangular squares, and the houses surrounding them had arcades on the ground floor and were surmounted by mansard roofs. Henry IV planned a large Place de France, but the project was never carried out. It was to have a monumental entrance of some sort, and from it avenues were to radiate to the various quarters of the city. The idea was utilized later by Louis XIV when he constructed the circular Place des Victoires in 1685.



Fig. 468.—Fontaine de St. Sulpice. Paris.

In addition to the royal undertakings, the



Fig. 469. — Church of the Sorbonne. Paris.

nobility and the ministers also took a considerable part in the improvement of Paris. We may say that the present city is the work of the architects of the time of Louis XIII and Louis XIV and that of the men who worked under Napoleon III two centuries later, such as Haussmann, Garnier and Violet-le-Duc.

Mazarin constructed the building popularly known as the Collège des Quatre Nations with the purpose of making Frenchmen of the students of the newly conquered territory. This structure, whose noble façade now beautifies one of the banks of the Seine, houses the Institut de France today (fig. 465).

The city gates were also rebuilt in the reign of Louis XIV. Blondel restored the Porte St. Bernard and the Porte St. Antoine and made a new design for the Porte St. Denis in accordance with the style of the period. It departs as much as possible from the type of the Roman triumphal arch with its classical columns and entablature. The piers are embellished with two obelisks in reliefs which are covered with rococo sculptures. Above is a frieze bearing a dedication to *Ludovicus Magnus* (fig. 466).

There was a tendency to construct fountains as at Rome, but here an abundance of water did not exist, and the fountains have rather the character of mural decorations (fig. 467), like the original design of Jean Goujon's Fountain of the Nymphs. We also find fountains of a monumental type decorated with sculptures like the Fontaine de St. Sulpice (fig. 468).

A strong Catholic reaction had now set in, and in addition to the parochial churches and religious foundations, they began to erect large churches of a monumental character. Here the architecture is very French, as in the Church of



Fig. 470. — Eglise des Invalides. Paris.

the Sorbonne in the court of the University of Paris. Its dome and Italian lantern have been adapted to the French style (fig. 469). A still better example is the great hospital and church of the Invalides which was built during the reign of Louis XIV between the years 1671 and 1674 by the architect, Bruant. It covers a vast area, and its rectangular buildings are arranged about sixteen large courts. The Eglise des Invalides consists of two distinct churches, although they are adjoining. The older portion, the Church of St. Louis, has the form of a basilica, while the so-called Dôme is a circular church. Beneath the cupola of the latter is the crypt containing the tomb of Napoleon (figs. 470 and 471).



Fig. 471.—Interior of the Hôtel des Invalides. Church of St. Louis. Paris.

As we have already remarked, during the reigns of the first Bourbons the nobles, ministers and private citizens of means all constructed handsome residences at the capital. Entire districts like the Ile St. Louis and the Marais date from this period. Richelieu had a palace near the Louvre called the Palais du Cardinal which he bequeathed to the King when he died. It consisted of two courts, one behind the other. The first was surrounded by wings, and the other opened into a garden which extended as far as the Rue St. Honoré. The greater part of the structure has since disappeared, but one of the outer walls still remains. It is decorated with anchors and prows of ships in allusion to the Cardinal's title of High Admiral of France.

Mazarin's palace, on the other hand, is preserved almost intact and is incorporated with the Bibliothèque Nationale. Sully's Paris residence has also been preserved. But the nobles and ministers were also accustomed to have large country homes. These were châteaux surrounded by parks laid out in terraces and avenues. Richelieu had a beautiful one in Poitou where he founded a city which was to bear his name, but the project was never realized.

Not far from Paris there still exists a château constructed by a certain minister of finances in the time of Richelieu and Mazarin. This château, now known as Maisons Lafitte, was planned by the architect, Marot. It and the Luxembourg are the purest examples of the French style erected in or about Paris during the Seventeenth Century. The building has two lateral wings like monumental pavilions with high roofs and chimneys. These are joined by the narrower central portion of the château which lies between them.

Colbert also had a château in Seignelay, but the most famous of these coun-



Fig. 472.—Versailles. Façade fronting on the gardens.

try residences of the ministers of France was the one at Vaux-le-Vicomte belonging to Fouquet, superintendent of finance under Louis XIV. Here he gave a fête in honor of the King and Queen in which the lavish expenditure was so great that it aroused the suspicions of the monarch and resulted in the downfall of the minister. Vaux-le-Vicomte is still preserved intact. One of the façades overlooks the marvelous gardens with their great basins, while the main façade fronts on a terrace approached by monumental stairways.

Of course, the Renaissance château *par excellence* is the royal palace at Versailles a short distance outside of Paris. None of the royal family of France had ever lived here until Louis XIII purchased a portion of the site; the remainder was presented to him. Here he built a château which still forms the central part of the great structure and lies about the small court called the Cour de Marbre. The building was long believed to have been the work of Salomon de Brosse, the architect of the Luxembourg, but it has recently been proved that he had

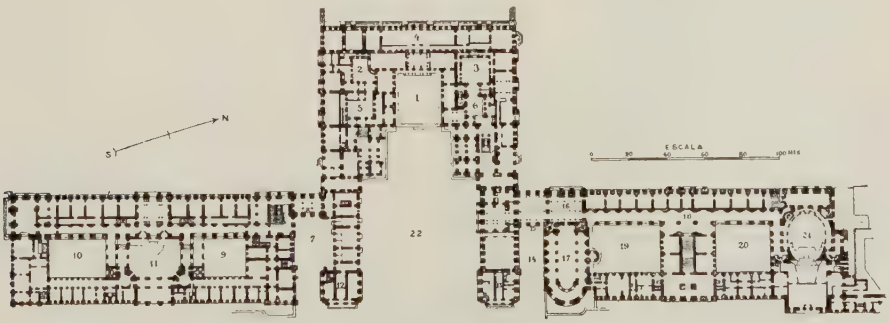


Fig. 473.—Plan of the Palace of Versailles.

1. Cour de Marbre.—2. Cour de la Reine.—3. Cour des Cerfs.—4. Galerie Louis XIII.—5 & 6. Courts. —7. Cour des Princes.—8. Entrance.—9. North Court.—10. South Court.—11. Chambre des Députés.—12. Pavillon Dufour.—13. Pavillon Louis XV.—14. Cour de la Chapelle.—15. Entrance.—16. Vestibule.—17. Chapelle.—18. Galerie des Tombeaux.—19. Cour de la Bouche.—20. Cour du Maroc.—21. Théatre (Sénat).—22. Cour Royale.

nothing to do with the original château of Versailles which was constructed in 1624.

The first château of Versailles was little more than a royal hunting-box and was not large enough to house the entire court. Saint-Simon calls it the *petit château de chartes*, and other memoirs of the period refer to it as a *petit château de gentilhomme* belonging to the King. The latter was evidently very fond of it, for in his will he said that if he should recover from the sickness, which was to be his last, he intended to entrust the Dauphin with state affairs and retire to Versailles until his death.



Fig. 474.—Versailles. The Chapel.

It was during the reign of Louis XIV that this *petit château* of Louis XIII was transformed into the famous palace which we see today. The King never wearied of proposing improvements, discussing the plans and urging on the builders. We find his marginal notes on the various reports of the work. Colbert for a time opposed the extravagant expenditures of the King on this project. One of the minister's letters on the subject is most interesting, as it reflects the characters of both and their distinct points of view regarding the government of the kingdom. "Your Majesty is now returning from Versailles," he writes. "On this occasion I beg that you will permit me to tell you something for which you will pardon me because of my zeal. This house contributes more to the pleasure and distraction of Your Majesty than to your glory. It is very just, in view of the great attention that Your Majesty gives to affairs of State, that you should also allow yourself some pleasure and diversion, but to secure this you should not prejudice your glory. If Your Majesty should seek to find in Versailles the five hundred thousand crowns which have been spent there in two years, you would have difficulty in finding them. Your Majesty should reflect that forever, in time to come, it will be seen in the accounts of the royal treasurers that while these sums were being spent at Versailles, Your Majesty neglected the work on the Louvre, which is certainly the proudest palace existing in the world and the one most worthy of Your Majesty.

"Your Majesty should consider that next to acts of valor and victories, nothing better indicates the greatness of princes than the palaces and buildings which have been completed during their reign. What a pity, therefore, that a king so great and good as Your Majesty should in the course of time come to be esti-



Fig. 475. — Versailles. Salle du Conseil.

mated by the measure of Versailles! And yet there is at present every ground for this apprehension."

It is a remarkable epistle that reflects admirably the spirit of the good minister. But the King paid no attention to it; Colbert could only give in and continue to view the endless enlargement and beautification of the great palace. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to believe that he died of sorrow at the devotion of the king to this capricious fancy. Many times the five hundred thousand crowns were spent in the course of the next few years. First Levau added two wings to the château of Louis XIII, leaving undisturbed the old court in the centre which is still preserved. Colbert, who had been compelled to take a hand in the new royal palace, wished to remodel what remained of the hunting-box of Louis XIII, but the King violently opposed any such idea. "Do what you will," he told him one day, annoyed at his insistence, "but if you tear it down, I will rebuild it without changing a detail." Consequently the palace at Versailles grew up around the original central court, now called the *Cour de Marbre*. Levau's wings were prolonged toward the gardens leaving a terrace between them. Here Mansart constructed what is now the Gallery of the Mirrors. The chapel by Mansart, completed in 1750, is one of the gems of Versailles, and the theatre by Gabriel was first used in 1756. The exterior of the palace had by now assumed its present aspect.

In the meantime André Le Nôtre was planning the gardens. His drawings have been preserved; they contain numerous sketches and projects which must have satisfied even King Louis XIV. From the west, the façade overlooking the gardens appears at a higher elevation than the grounds on that side. Great monumental stairways descend to the gardens, and a broad avenue of trees



Fig. 476. — Hall of the Clock.



Fig. 477.—Versailles. Cabinet of Louis XV.

prolongs the view to the horizon, a scene of incomparable beauty. This open space between the trees is occupied by a great basin of water which is one of the most beautiful spots at Versailles (figure 478). The fountains are generally of an architectural character and are ornamented with sculptures from which jets of water gush forth. On every side we find shrubbery, temples to Cupid, labyrinths, *ménageries,* and other delightful spots. Here the court celebrated the fêtes so vividly described in the memoirs of the period. Both artists and literary men shared the King's love for Versailles. Here Molière and his company played his best comedies; Racine's Iphigenia was composed for one of these festivals; and La Fontaine would come to Versailles to give a first reading of one of his poems before his admirers.

Sculptors worked unceasingly to embellish the immense gardens with statues and allegorical figures. The Academy of Rome, recently established by Colbert, provided Versailles with reproductions of the most famous antique sculptures in the Eternal City. It was the same with the painters. Lebrun, the most famous decorator of the time, painted the ceiling of the great Gallery of Mirrors which Mansart had constructed between the two wings projecting toward the gardens. This ceiling is a barrel-vault divided by mouldings into panels. Here are depicted mythological allusions to the reign of Louis XIV.

In this period we see the Academy at its best; here we find the finest spirits of the century. But we cannot help noting that these artists, architects and decorators were well aware of the discrepancy between their esthetic principles and their work. They desired to revive classical antiquity, wrote treatises on the different orders, commented on Vitruvius and studied Palladio. And yet their works became more baroque every day. Almost without realizing what they

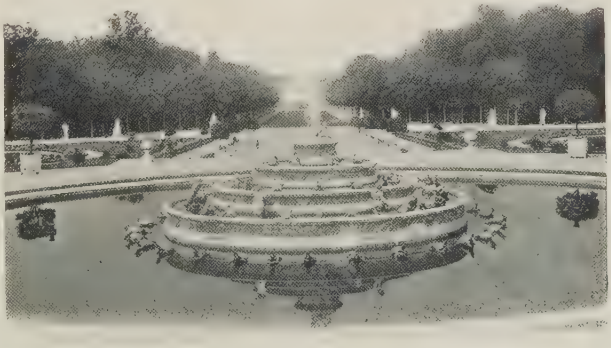


Fig. 478.—Versailles. The Gardens.



Fig. 479.—Nicolas Poussin. Adoration of the Magi. *(Museum of Dulwich.* LONDON.

were doing, it would seem, they created that amazing French decorative style called the rococo. Although it varied from time to time, it became more accentuated during each of the three reigns of Louis XIII, Louis XIV and Louis XV. At first there seems to have been an effort to restrain this tendency; the old classical theories were reaffirmed. But the rococo continued. In the reign of Louis XIV forms became more curved and decorative elements, more profuse. Under Louis XV rocailles, Cupids and garlands appeared. Indeed, the King himself encouraged this tendency. In regard to the decoration proposed for one of his apartments he wrote: "More Cupids and cherubs should be placed here." Finally the philoclassical Academicians settled the dispute. The exteriors of the buildings were to be preserved. But inside, the greatest liberty was to be allowed; the more rococo decoration, the better. This was, indeed, the characteristic style of the reign of Louis XV. One is surprised at the sobriety and correctness of the façades of the palace at Versailles, but inside, the decorations run riot.

Notwithstanding, some of the architects toward the end of the century attempted to break completely with the classical style. Mansart, one of the six members of the Academy who were architects, planned a façade for the church of St. Sulpice on which there was hardly a straight line, not even a cornice or



Fig. 480. — Boucher. Diana quitting the bath. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

a pilaster. Generally speaking, however, the architects made the most Herculean efforts to keep within the style formulated by the Italian Renaissance. The books of Vitruvius, Serlio and Palladio were studied and frequently commented upon in the meetings of the Academy. It is also known that according to Colbert's idea, the Academy of Architecture was to be "a sort of school for young architects," the classical influence of which should be perpetuated in the generations to come. The great churches of this period at Paris, such as the Panthéon and the Invalides, all have domes more or less in imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The Jesuits firmly supported this tendency to adhere to the style of the Italian Renaissance; for this purpose they had an architectural adviser whose duty it was to see that there should be a certain uniformity in the plans of the monasteries and churches of the Order everywhere. They were all to be constructed in imitation of the Gesù, as the Jesuit church in Rome is called.

With all these tendencies, notwithstanding, France was finding herself, and the art of the country was becoming more and more characteristic. It is no longer the elegant society of Versailles of the time of Molière and Racine that we find strolling in these gardens in the last years of Louis XV. A spiritual revolution was stirring the minds of men who had wearied of mere intellectual pleasures. It was the period of the Encyclopaedia. In the Mme. Houdetot of Rousseau's *Confessions* we see the women of the time. Even immorality was no longer what it had been in the preceding generation; romance had come into the world.



Fig. 481.—Boucher. Portrait of Mme. de la Pompadour. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

Love is no longer idealized in allegories of Diana and the nymphs; it is in the pastoral scenes of the Eighteenth Century that we find the suggestion and freedom of the naturalistic thinkers who preceded the Revolution.

In the field of painting we see the same thing. During the reign of Henry IV both the King and his Italian Queen favored only the Flemish and Italian artists. We still find in the Louvre the endless series of allegorical pictures representing the marriage and regency of Marie de Medici which Rubens painted for the Luxembourg Palace. Nicolas Poussin, a famous Sixteenth-century painter, passed much of his life in Italy. So we see that painting like architecture was at first devoted to the revival of classical art. Poussin was a Norman. He was born in 1594 and passed his youth wandering about France, poor and without patrons. Upon the invitation of Chevalier Marini, the baroque poet, he went to Rome where he later married the daughter of a well-to-do compatriot. He lived in a house in the Pincio, or rather the Babuino, which is still the favorite quarter of painters at Rome. Here Poussin's success and reputation finally attracted the attention of Richelieu and the King of France who invited him back to Paris to become court painter. He stayed in Paris two years where he was liberally paid and lodged in the Tuileries. He had left his family in Rome, however, and making an excuse to return to Italy he remained there the rest of his life. Poussin has always been regarded as one of the great French painters. Before Colbert formally established the Academy at Rome, Poussin acted almost officially as the agent of the French Government. He received and directed the subsidized paint-

ers who came to copy the great Italian masterpieces for the decoration of the new apartments in the Louvre. All the young French artists who arrived at Rome came under the influence of Poussin; even Delacroix, who had condemned his work, became reconciled with Poussin and frankly acknowledged his own mistake. The influence of the impressionists and luminists of today does not tend to predispose us to an appreciation of an artist like Poussin. His colors are opaque and earthy, and his compositions, precise and studied. "My nature," he writes, "causes me to seek and esteem well ordered things and to avoid confusion, which is as repugnant to me as darkness is to light." Poussin's love for order is not merely an intellectual desire to imitate the art of antiquity, as has been supposed, and thus to get away from life and nature, but, he says, "because there are two ways of seeing things; one, merely looking at them and the other, considering them attentively." Poussin loved the material world, possibly too well, and it was his aim to ennoble it. On this account with romantic enthusiasm, we might say, he bathes his rocks, combs his trees and varnishes his skies. But after the first impulse to protest against the works of Poussin, even his detractors end up by forgiving and appreciating him. The truth is that in spite of his life spent in cities, he had visions of rare beauty; the landscape of the Roman Campagna, Roman ruins, pagan scenes, nymphs, Cupids and goddesses, a vast and well ordered repertoire of erudition and beauty.



Fig. 482. — Nattier. Portrait of the Marquise d'Antin. *(Musée Jacquemart-André.)* PARIS.



Fig. 483. — Nattier. Portrait of the Princess de Condé. NEW YORK.

Poussin was followed by Lebrun, and later by Boucher and the other great French artists of the Eighteenth



Fig. 484.—Watteau. Déjeuner sur l'herbe. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

Century. Boucher was born in Paris and won the Academy prize in 1723. He studied in Rome, was married in 1733 and the following year was received into the Academy. It may be said that his career began at that time; his style was formed, and he had a clear vision of the world, or at least, the world as he would have made it, a garden in springtime, peopled with nymphs and ruled only by Venus and Cupid. Boucher was very different from Poussin whose serious mind delighted in imagining gods or Biblical subjects set in a landscape with ruins. Boucher was the painter of La Pompadour when this lady had changed her position of "maîtresse en titre" for that of prime minister. She employed Boucher to decorate the apartments of Versailles, bought his pictures, suggested amorous themes for his canvases which he filled with the most lovely women imaginable. He painted Psyche taken to the palace of Cupid, the birth of Venus, Diana quitting the bath, the rape of Europa or idyls like Daphnis and Chloe dressed like shepherds of the time of Louis XV. There is something sincere in all these pictures and panels by Boucher which cannot but win our esteem even in these modern times. His enthusiasm for the feminine form, or rather for the French woman of his own day, is admirable. Boucher's Venus is La Pompadour herself with her white skin and rounded form, with the marvelous curve of neck and breast (figs. 480 and 481).

While Boucher was painting the ladies of Versailles in the nude as Venus and the nymphs, Nattier clothed them in elegant silks, but he makes a low-cut bodice as seductive as the pagan form of a goddess. Nattier was the son of a painter of the Academy, so the way was made easy for him to enter his chosen career. He painted for Peter the Great and Catherine of Russia; indeed, the modern Russian school of painting still retains something of the sensuous aristocratic feeling of Nattier that is so characteristically French. But his real success was achieved at Versailles. He executed portraits of the King who then had him paint the royal favorites, Mme. de Mailly, duchesse de Chateauroux, La Pompa-



A. Watteau. Iris. *(Imperial Palace at Potsdam.)*



Fig. 485. — Watteau. The garden of St. Cloud. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

dour, and afterwards his daughters and the other ladies of the court. His coloring is very pleasing; his fair sitters appear in silks or amid clouds, surrounded by the scented atmosphere of Olympus, as a court painter of Louis XV would imagine it. All the beauties of Versailles are immortalized on the canvases of Nattier. The court ladies are represented as one of the Graces, Dawn, Diana, Hebe or a nymph (figs. 482 and 483), but they never cease to be beautiful women.

Soon aristocratic society wearied of these mythological metamorphoses and began to wish to know something of real life. Diderot broke out in protest at Boucher's pictures in the Salon of 1765. "He has forgotten what grace is," he said, "and he never knew truth. Nor did he ever for a moment contemplate nature." There was of course a certain amount of exaggeration in all this, but when Reynolds passed through Paris, Boucher confessed to the English painter that although he had employed models in his youth, he no longer needed them.

Just one thing saved French art from falling completely into mannerism, and this was the fact that almost all the painters had studied in the school at Rome. Here they encountered as a living force the tradition of Poussin and his friend, Claude Lorrain. The latter was the great landscape-painter and the real founder of the modern school of landscape-painting. As Goethe observed, he idealized his scenes as did Poussin, but nevertheless Claude Lorrain had a genuine love for trees, clouds, broad skies and atmospheric effects. Ruskin says that he pro-



Fig. 486. — Greuze. Innocence. *(National Gallery.)* London.

duced a revolution by merely placing the sun in the heavens. As we have already noted, Lorrain, in spite of his "heroic" style, was the true precursor of the modern landscape-painter; he himself remarked that he sold his landscapes and added the figures as a gift. For his own enjoyment and study he assembled two hundred drawings in a portfolio which he called the Book of Truth, *Liber Veritatis*. Each one represented a different aspect of nature.

Later the so-called naturalistic tendency of Claude Lorrain was continued by other painters who were true lovers of rustic scenes. Their barn interiors contrast strongly with the compositions of Boucher and Lebrun. The same reaction is voiced in the writings of Rousseau which were published when Louis XV and La Pompadour were still holding brilliant fêtes at Versailles. The *Social Contract* and the *New Heloise* were strident notes in literature, just as Watteau and Fragonard had already attempted to replace the life on Olympus with earthly realities. Watteau was the greatest painter of his century. He came from Flanders to Paris, where he became so typically French that the spirit of France can hardly be understood without an acquaintance with his work. Watteau only worked a few years and died at an early age. His compositions reflect a strange languor and delicacy like a symbol of the emptiness of that love of pleasure which then seemed to be the very essence of life. Sometimes he disguises his personages in the costumes of the Pierrots and Harlequins of Italian comedy; again he groups his ladies and gallants in a wooded glade. He takes them far away from the world to a land of pleasure and love; the tragedies of life, its tumult and its griefs, are left behind.

Watteau followed the same path as the other painters of his century. The Academy refused him the Prix de Rome, but in 1717 he was made a member of the Academy. This was on the completion of his "Embarkment for Cythera" which is one of his most characteristic works. Groups of lovers are preparing to depart; some of them are joyful, and others gently draw their resisting companions toward the bark which is to carry them to the isle of love.

All of Watteau's work is more or less an amplification of the same theme; a certain melancholy accompanies the force which animates his lovers. They are young people of the fashionable Parisian world, and the men, like their creator, are of a pensive nature. However, Watteau was a perfect type of the *insouciant* Parisian artist, a precursor of the Bohemian painters of our own time. The Comte de

Caylus, who was the first to write a life of Watteau, tells how he once reproached the artist for his carelessness and lack of foresight. The latter answered that the worst end that could come to him would be the hospital, but there they refused no one. Verlaine might well have said the same. Watteau did not die in the hospital, but a long illness and early death deprived the world of his talent and exquisite taste. Watteau's landscapes are, more than anything else, the representation of a dream-world; trees, sky and water are all bathed in opalescent light (figs. 484 and 485 and Plate XXXV).



Fig. 487. — Fragonard. The swing. *(Wallace Collection.)* London.

About the same time, Greuze and Chardin, definitely abandoned mythological scenes and subjects relating to court life and applied themselves to the representation of the daily life of ordinary people. Embellishments and disguises were cast aside. It was, in a way, a reaction against the incorrigible vice of Versailles. Chardin was an admirable painter of the home life of the petit bourgeois. In the catalogues of the Parisian Salons of the time we find Chardin's pictures of maids washing, people playing cards, a pharmacist, or portraits, animals and fruit. Here are naturalness, life and beauty. (Plate XXXVI.) Chardin was also a member of the Academy, and his life was a tranquil one. His wife, a well-to-do widow when he married her, took good care of her husband and attended to the sale of his pictures.

Very different from Chardin's peaceful life was that of his contemporary, Greuze. Born in 1725, he went to Rome in 1755 and was also made a member of the Academy. Although he was a painter of candor and innocence, his diploma picture was a historical subject, the one farthest removed from the field in which he best succeeded. Greuze's family life was an unhappy one; upon his return from Italy he married a book-seller older than himself, but her dissolute life compelled him to seek a legal separation. In all his pictures we see a love of innocence; he was the romantic painter of childhood, young girls and family life. One of his compositions represents a mother surrounded by her loving children; in another a village clergyman aids a widow in the guidance of her young sons.



Fig. 488. — Pajou. Psyche. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

Especially famous are his figures of little girls with delicate faces like dolls and dressed in the attractive costumes of the period (fig. 486). But it must be admitted that Greuze's fame rests more upon the broad appeal of his subjects than on his ability as a painter.

The last French painter of the Eighteenth Century, generally recognized as the master of his time, was the marvelous Fragonard, or Frago as he signed himself. He was born in the South at Grasse, among the olive groves and vineyards of Provence. He also won the Prix de Rome where he benefited from his studies, although he felt a stranger there and was overwhelmed by so many marbles, statues and paintings. Here he painted his picture of Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles, a Visitation and an Adoration of the Shepherds. But he did not lose his own personality in his study of the old masters, and his love of the Renaissance gardens of Rome was reflected in his later art. Returning home he achieved a triumph in the Salon and immediately became famous. Already sure of himself, he abandoned every other theme and devoted himself to the portrayal of love; in all his pictures we find the same idea rendered with an esthetic realism. Sometimes his subject is a daring one as in his picture of "The Swing" or "The Model's First Sitting" (figs. 487 and 491). Again he loves to portray a scene like that of the girl who carves her lover's name upon a tree. The good Frago married a fellow townswoman from Grasse whom her parents had sent to Paris to complete her education. They had no children, but the home was enlivened by a much younger sister of his wife who also painted and who accompanied the couple on their travels and in their diversions. Like a good Provençal Fragonard sympathized with the Revolution. Citizeness Fragonard was one of the artists' wives who came before the Committee of Safety to lay their jewels on the altar of Liberty. But Fragonard had painted too many



Chardin. The reading.

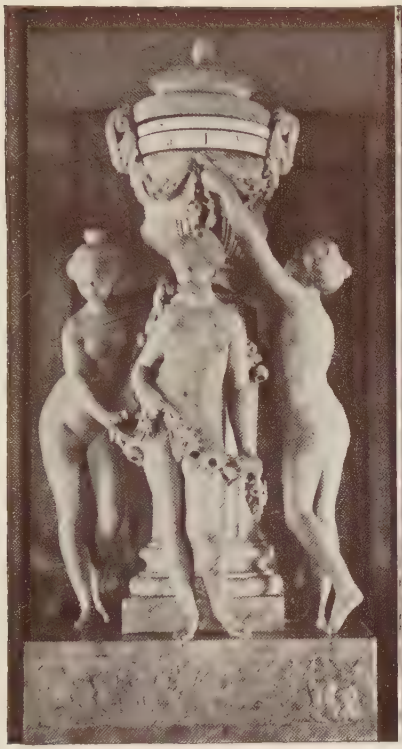


Fig. 489. — Falconet. The Three Graces *(Louvre.)* PARIS.



Fig. 490. — Huet. La danse à deux. Gobelin tapestry. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

pictures for the members of the *ancien régime;* when the Terror came he was obliged to retire to his native town. Later he returned to Paris where he died almost forgotten. Fragonard was really the last French painter of the Eighteenth Century; he even lived to see the triumph of David and the neoclassical art.

In the field of sculpture we find some noteworthy figures in the period between Jean Goujon's time and the Nineteenth Century. Like the painters, their style is very French, although they studied in the Academy at Rome. We have not the space to mention them all; one must live in Paris and spend much time in the Louvre to appreciate them properly. One, the celebrated Pajou, went to Rome in 1754 and was admitted to the Academy upon his return. His diploma work was a sculpture representing Pluto and the chained Cerberus, now in the Louvre. He was married and lived the peaceful life of a bourgeois. Although an admirer of Rousseau, he executed a portrait-bust of Mme. Du Barry. He was an artist who was keenly appreciative of the beauty of a woman; his portrait-busts, exposing neck and shoulders, display a wealth of feminine charms. Sometimes his work is executed in terra-cotta, and it seems extraordinarily alive. His full figures are not so good (fig. 488). Portrait-busts were his specialty. He represented some of the prominent figures of the Revolution and decorated the Theatre at Versailles. Pajou died in 1809, still occupying the

position of treasurer of the Academy. He was a representative type of this intermediate period. Bouchardon also deserves mention; he was a sculptor of the great and heroic. Falconet, on the other hand, was a lover of sentiment and delicacy (fig. 489).

Summary. — French architecture under the Bourbons was characterized by an ever increasing tendency toward the baroque. This style was largely confined to interior decoration; the façades carried on the classical tradition patterned after the manner of Palladio. Colbert founded the Academy at Paris and the French school of art at Rome. The latter was attended by some of the architects as well as by the other artists. To this period belong the later portion of the Louvre with its façades of columns, the Luxembourg, the residence of Cardinal Richelieu and the Institut de France at Paris. Elsewhere are châteaux like Maisons-Lafitte, Vaux-le-Vicomte and many other country residences. The churches of the Sorbonne and the Invalides were erected at Paris; we find a cruciform plan and a dome somewhat in imitation of St. Peter's although more French in style. The most ambitious undertaking during this period was the palace at Versailles with its remarkable gardens; it is typical of the Bourbons. The first French painter of the time was Poussin who lived in Rome. His themes were chiefly historical and mythological and he followed the classical style. He was succeeded by Boucher and Nattier, the court painters at Versailles, and later by Chardin, Greuze and Fragonard, painters of the Paris we know today. The decorative art of this period was most remarkable with its graceful profusion of volutes, rocailles and little Cupids.

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Fig. 491. — Fragonard. The model's first sitting. *(Musée Jacquemart-André.)* Paris.



Fig. 492. — Cathedral of Santiago. Baroque decorations of the roof.

CHAPTER XVI

INTRODUCTION OF THE BAROQUE STYLE INTO SPAIN.
CHURRIGUERA AND HIS PUPILS. — THE ROYAL PALACE AT MADRID.
BAROQUE DECORATION. — THE SPANISH BAROQUE IN AMERICA.

When we come to the history of the baroque style in Spain, we find the same difficulties which we encountered when we studied the origin of the baroque in Italy. Historical data are lacking, and opinions regarding the men and conditions of the period are either erroneous or uncritical. In Italy, at least, we find during the last few years a tendency to study and appraise more carefully the works of the baroque artists; men like Bernini have been completely rehabilitated. Only a few years ago Spain was still under the influence of the neoclassical writers. The absurd comments of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-century Spanish critics on the masters of the baroque period fill the reader with amazement. Cean Bermúdez does not even include Churriguera in his biographies of Spanish artists. Interesting periods like the reign of Philip IV have been studied only by foreigners, such as Carl Justi, and the best treatise on Spanish baroque architecture is Schubert's recent work published in German.

To the Spaniard the baroque was also a mistake, a degeneration, a downright aberration. Most people in Spain took seriously the pedantic criticisms of the neoclassics. Not only did those condemn the baroque in their writings, but they expressed the wish that Spain might have been spared participation in so great a mistake. "Nevertheless," remarks Caveda, "it is not the Spanish who should be



Fig. 493. — Crescenzi. Rotonda of the burial-chapel of the kings of Spain. Escorial.

held responsible for the corrupt architecture of that period. Borromini, that prime heretic of art, well deserved the censure of the writers of judgment who came after him. When Gómez de Mora took charge of the royal works in 1611, the Italians had already forgotten the severe grandeur and classical purity of Palladio... and the new taste was soon introduced into the peninsula. It was supported by the leading spirits of Spain, men too closely in contact with Rome not to admit it, when they saw exhausted the resources of the only school (of art) which had been universally followed down to this time, without rivals and without license."

"From the year 1612," continues Caveda, "Juan Martínez showed signs of this license, departing from the simplicity adopted by the Moras. He displayed it especially in the buildings of Santa Clara, San Pedro and San Lorenzo at Seville which was at that time one of the richest and most flourishing cities of the kingdom. But the corruption, fortunately, did not as yet go further than the little shields and garlands, the angels and brackets, with which it was attempted to enrich the structure."

These passages of Caveda, in the only general history of the architecture of Spain, will give some idea of the irritation he displays in his opinions regarding the baroque style. The same is true of all neoclassical writers, and their judgment is still generally accepted in Spain. The romantic poets of Spain paid no attention to the baroque; if they had, surely it would have compelled their interest. But their admiration and enthusiasm were centered on the Gothic cathedrals and other buildings. The rehabilitation of the baroque did not come until

the present generation of Spaniards acquired a deeper knowledge of eclectic criticism.

The unfortunate thing about it all is that even the name by which the baroque was known in Spain was a mistake. They called it *churrigueris-mo!* Caveda himself admits that Churriguera was not responsible for the style so far as Spain was concerned; indeed, he was not even its most fervent cultivator. Another current statement that is not justified by the facts is that the baroque was already formed when it was introduced into Spain, that it was merely an importation from Italy. The Italians, on the other hand, seeking the origin of the Neapolitan baroque, attempt to trace it back to Spain. The French, too, claim to see something of the Spanish baroque in their extreme rococo forms of the time of Louis XV. All these attempted derivations are doubtful, or at least most obscure. There is no doubt that Italy, Spain and France were all mutually infected by this spirit, for the Spanish knew what the Italians were doing and imitated them. But Spain would have produced a baroque style, even though Bernini and Borromini had never existed. What could be more baroque than the Spanish plateresque? As a matter of fact, what the Italian influence really did was to retard the natural course of events in the peninsula. We may truthfully say that Herrera was more classical than Palladio and Michelangelo.



Fig. 494. — Jesuit college-church. Loyola.

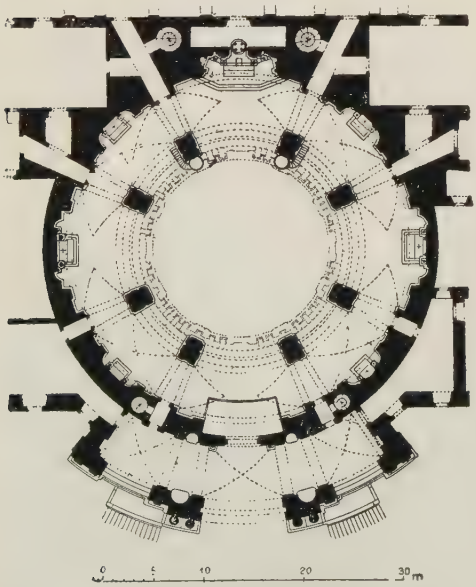


Fig. 495. — Plan of the Jesuit college-church. *(Loyola.)* Spain.

Consequently, when the iron dictatorship of Herrera and his pupils, the Moras, had come to an end, Spain learned how Italy had given herself over to the divine



Fig. 496.—Cathedral ot Nuestra Señora del Pilar. Saragossa.

frenzy of the baroque, and she herself hastened to follow this novel and alluring style. Soon all Spain was rebuilt, we might say, with twisted columns, brackets and ornamental abutments.

The most positive fact in connection with the relation between the baroque schools of Italy and Spain was the arrival of an Italian architect by the name of Crescenzi who came to complete the Escorial. He soon became an important figure and filled the post of superintendent of public buildings, as Egas and Herrera had done before him. In his royal burial-chapel in the Escorial we see nothing more than a comparatively good taste and mildly baroque style (fig. 493). But Crescenzi was not the first to take these libertics. If we turn again to the pages of Caveda, we learn that "the arch designed by Alonso Cano in the year 1649 for the entry into Madrid of Queen Doña María Ana of Austria was, without doubt, one of the first trials of the style of Borromini which took place among us."



Fig. 497.—Tower of the Seo. Saragossa.

The influence of Crescenzi lasted until his death in 1660. The Jesuits, for their part, adopted the style officially. Their college-church at Loyola is a very pleasing example, both in its plan and elevation (figs. 494 and 495). Early in the Seventeenth Century began the rebuilding of the great church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Saragossa, which was not completed until our own time. The plan by a certain Francisco Herrera the Younger is very Spanish in its arrangement. There is neither a



PHOTO THOMAS

Façade of the cathedral of Santiago.

great dome nor a large nave as an outstanding feature of the structure (fig. 496). It has one higher cupola, but this is surrounded by ten other smaller ones. Baroque towers were also to be erected at the four corners, but only two of these were ever built. It will be a singular edifice when it is entirely completed, with its multitude of domes and towers rising against the brilliant sky of Aragon.



Fig. 498. — Churriguera. Palace of the Ayuntamiento. SALAMANCA.

Only one Spanish sanctuary surpasses the Pilar in its wealth of ornamentation. This is the old Romanesque cathedral of Santiago, now completely clothed with its baroque outer walls. It is richly imposing as it towers above the Spanish plaza, a gigantic accumulation of obelisks, brackets and volutes. (Plate XXXVII.) It was planned by Fernando Casas y Novoa during the last years of the baroque period. But although the lower portion already reveals the decadence of that style, the outlines of the two magnificent towers are admirable.

The Romanesque apse of the cathedral of Santiago is also set within a baroque wall (fig. 492). A handsome effect is produced by the roofs of the chancel and crossing, rising one above another and nobly enriched with long balustrades.

But in mentioning the Pilar and the exterior decorations of the cathedral of Santiago we have passed over many earlier works. Nothing has been said of Churriguera who is held responsible, although indirectly, for these "aberrations." José de Churriguera seems to have been of a peaceful even-minded character; indeed he might have been of the Academicians of our own day. He was not, like Bernini, an impulsive genius, carried away by his art. His first work was the doorway of the new cathedral at

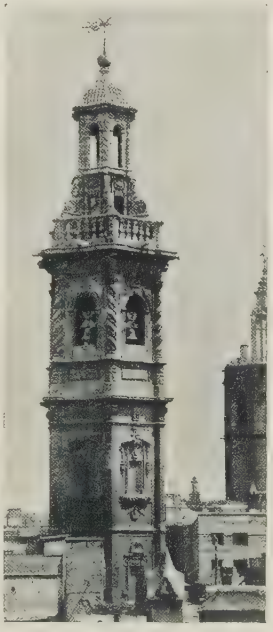


Fig. 499. — Tower of Santa. Catalina. SARAGOSSA.



Fig. 500. — Façade of Santa Maria.
ALICANTE.



Fig. 501. — Doorway of the church of San Juan.
VALENCIA.

Salamanca, and he achieved fame through his plan for the catafalque of Queen María Luisa de Borbón. This work was for the baroque style in Spain what Bernini's Canopy in St. Peter's was for the Italian baroque. From that time on there was no more hesitation. Nevertheless, Churriguerra's façade of the Casa consistorial at Salamanca is still sober and judicious (fig. 498). Nor did his sons and a certain Quiñones, who were his pupils, depart from this prudent application of baroque principles.

We now come to the so-called "Churrigueresque" architects. These were

Narciso Tomé who planned the façade of the University at Valladolid; Rovira, the architect of the palace of the Marqués de Dos Aguas at Valencia (fig. 496); Pedro Ribera, who was the author of the Hospicio Provincial de San Fernando in Madrid (fig. 497); Jaime Bort, who was responsible for the façade of the cathedral of Murcia; and many others both at the capital and in the provinces who followed the baroque tendencies without restraint. We find everywhere the same freedom of action and love for profuse decoration. It is readily seen that in a style like the baroque, each individual of any force of character would create a



Fig. 502. — Doorway of the collegiate church of San Hipólito. CORDOVA.



Fig. 503. — Lateral doorway of the church of Belén. BARCELONA.

manner of his own. In some buildings all the lines are curved; the pediments are arched; the entablatures, undulating; the columns, twisted and accompanied by spiral brackets and volutes. Again, in the Palace of the Marqués de Dos Aguas and the Hospicio at Madrid we find in profusion imitations of hangings and shrubbery, all carved in stone. There is also a certain style composed of flat elements in relief; we can only liken it to a superimposed jig-saw pattern. It resembles the German *Plattenstil*, as the reader will see from the doorway of the collegiate church of San Hipólito at Cordova (fig. 502).

The development of the Spanish



Fig. 510. — Royal Palace at Madrid (north façade).

While the King was hesitating, Juvara died in Madrid after having appointed his successor. The latter was Giovanni Battista Sachetti who was aided by Ventura Rodríguez, the former assistant of Juvara himself. Construction was now begun and the great palace was soon well under way. It was thirty years, however, before the building could be occupied, and its entire completion may be said to date only from our own times.



Fig. 511. — Stairway of the Royal Palace. MADRID.

The site of the royal palace is at one end of the city and overlooks the Manzanares River. It is one of incomparable beauty. The edifice lies about a rectangular court round which runs a corridor on all four sides as in the Farnese Palace at Rome. On each of the outer façades a central division projects slightly as do others at the corners of the building. The lower story forms a sort of rustic basement above which rise the great columns which surround the upper stories (fig. 510). The arrangement is absolutely that of Bernini's plan for the Louvre, even to the details of the cornice and the windows. The French criticized Bernini for having favored a purely Italian design for the Louvre which they con-

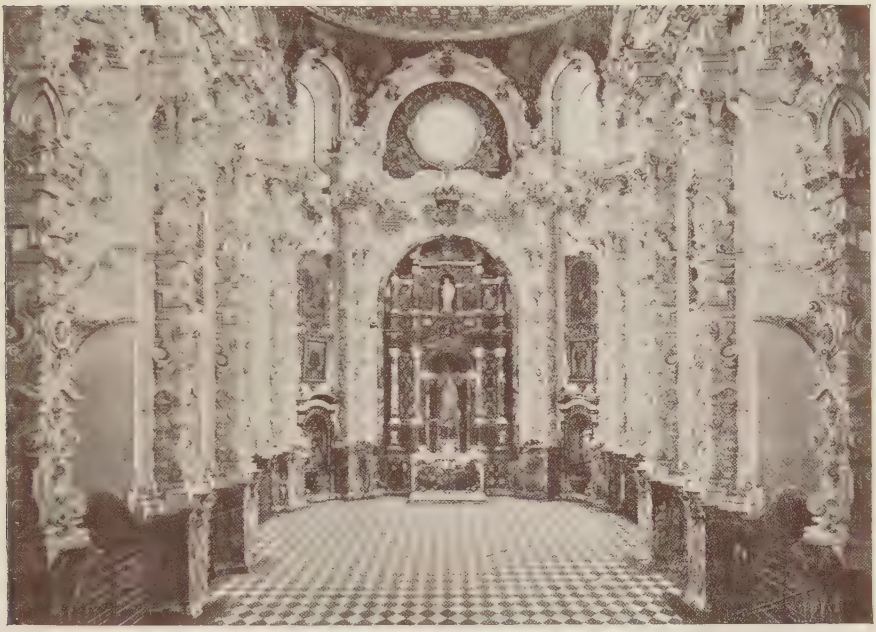


Fig. 512. — Sacristy of the Cartuja at Granada.

sidered to be unsuitable as the principal residence of the kings of France. It is interesting, therefore, to find that the very project which was rejected at Paris is extraordinarily French in character when carried to Madrid, although it was executed by Italian architects. This may be due to the fact that, although Juvara was of Sicilian origin, he had just come from Piedmont and the court at Turin was then very French. Before Juvara came to Spain, his greatest work had been the Superga at Turin. It has a French cupola, and the doorway on the façade is similar to that of the Invalides and the Panthéon at Paris. Here we have the sources of the Royal Palace at Madrid, the design favored by Bernini for the façade of the Louvre and the Parisian buildings most



Fig. 513. — Court of the Casa Sollerich. PALMA DE MALLORCA.



Fig. 514. — Court of the house of the Marqués de Vivot. MALLORCA.



Fig. 515. — Court of the Casa Olesa. MALLORCA.



Fig. 516. — Court of the Casa Berga. MALLORCA

admired at the court of Turin. But more than this, the Louvre and especially Versailles were the archetypes of the Eighteenth-century royal palace. This held true even for Italy, for Vanvitelli's royal palace at Caserta near Naples, which was begun a few years later than the palace at Madrid, is almost an Italian copy of Versailles.

The main court of the Royal Palace at Madrid produces a rather cold effect. It is built of granite, which is not especially adapted to sculpture and consequently does not possess a decorative appearance. The lines of the court are academic and precise, and it does not arouse in us the enthusiasm which we feel for the great inspired monuments. The same may be said of the stairway and the antechambers (figure 511). In the great halls we find a fully developed baroque style; the throne-room, the so-called Gasparini and the chapel, with their gilded pomp and the allegorical decorations on

the ceilings, give a more Spanish character to the Royal Palace at Madrid. Nevertheless, the Spanish people are not very fond of the composition as a whole; they rather resent its French origin, due both to the Bourbon king who built it and the architects who directed the work. The finest apartments are decorated, not by Spanish painters, but by Tiepolo and Mengs. Indeed, the only thing about the vast structure that is genuinely Spanish is its location; from the windows we view a typically Castilian landscape, the Manzanares River below and the Sierra del Guadarrama in the distance.

The most pleasing works of this Franco-Spanish school are the gardens. Both at La Granja and Aranjuez they are embellished with fountains and laid out in long avenues as at Versailles. Neither have ever lost their singular charm (fig. 518).

Each district in Spain reacted to the baroque in its own way, due principally to the trend it took in the hands of the local architects. At Salamanca naturally Churriguera's influence predominated. An Aragonese school was founded by Herrera the Younger who built the cathedral del Pilar. In Murcia the buildings are characterized by the style of Jaime Bort, while at Granada all the baroque decorations have something of the accumulation of stalactites and volutes which we find in the sacristy of the Cartuja and were the life work of Padre Manuel Vázquez (fig. 512). The baroque style also invaded Catalonia, where it was more widely accepted, perhaps, than the Greco-Roman had been. In addition to the Jesuit churches, the finest of which is that of Belén at Barcelona



Fig. 517.—Entrance to the gardens of Alfabia. Palma de Mallorca.



Fig. 518.—Fountain of Vertumno. *(Gardens of Aranjuez.)*



Fig. 519. — Mallorcan bed of Son Moragues.

(fig. 503), the other religious orders took up the baroque as well. The churches of the Hospital and Santa Marta at Barcelona (fig. 509), the palace of the abbot and the large new sacristy at Poblet, the beautiful church of Nuestra Señora de la Gleba near Vich (fig. 504) and others at Lerida, Gerona and Tortosa all go to show that the Catalan country was not proof against the magic of the baroque. Another school of baroque art is also worthy of mention; this is the half Italian and half Catalan style which we find in Mallorca. The large residences at Palma, which were rebuilt during this period of prosperity for the island, usually consist of a central court surrounded by flattened arches which recall the old Gothic courts of Catalonia; only the capitals and mouldings are baroque (figs. 513 to 516). Some of them have a well in the centre, and on one side rises a monumental stairway as in the palaces of Genoa. The Casa Dalmases in Barcelona is arranged in much the same way with a court and open stairway, but it is more profusely decorated than are any of those at Palma (fig. 508). Many of these baroque residences in Catalonia have a garden on the same level as the main floor with stone seats and trellises. Besides the large country villas built in the Italian style, we find in Mallorca gardens that are half Tuscan, like those of Raxa and Alfabia (fig. 517).

The French styles of the court are found but little in the provinces. Only the cathedral del Pilar at Saragossa can compare with the Royal Palace at Madrid in size and magnificence. But, as we have already noted, the silhouette of the roof and towers of the former is extremely baroque. The old cathedral of Saragossa, the Seo, which rivals the Pilar, also has a baroque tower (fig. 497). The old type of the boundary-crosses, too, was modified during the period when this style prevailed; the upright shaft is often a twisted or spiral column (figure 505). Even the smaller country churches were transformed or rebuilt at this time with baroque towers and cupolas. When the building itself was not altered, they renewed the pulpits and altars, often replacing the old retablos with large compositions consisting of twisted columns and entablatures covered with polychrome figures in relief.

The furniture of the private houses reflects the influence of the French styles of the Louis, but in the monasteries and public buildings the Spanish baroque continued to develop down to the end of the Eighteenth Century. We



Fig. 520.—Reliquary of the Santa Duda.
(Cathedral of Gerona.)



Fig. 521.—Candelabrum of the cathedral of Palma.
MALLORCA.

are all familiar with the great Spanish leather chairs, tables with twisted iron supports, canopied beds (fig. 519) and chests. Especially typical are the bedrooms ornamented with carved and painted brackets which we find described in books of travel. These are still frequently to be seen in Spain.

All the industrial arts of plateresque Spain continued to develop during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In goldsmith's work, although there were no longer such famous craftsmen as the Arfes and Becerrils, there were still many centres where jewelry was produced which usually preserved its Spanish

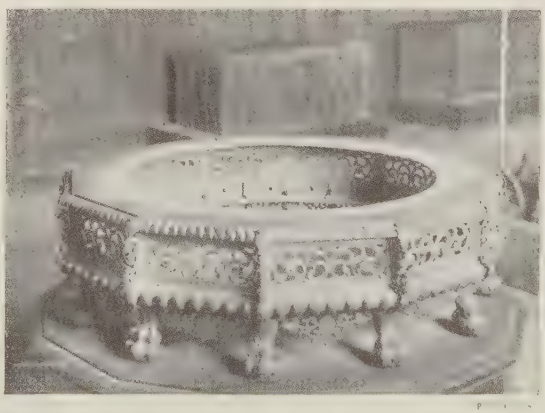


Fig. 522.—Brazier from the Municipio of Barcelona.
(Museo del Parque.)



Fig. 523. — West façade of the cathedral of Santo Domingo, the first in America.

character (figs. 520 and 521). The iron-workers continued to turn out interesting grilles, furniture and other objects (fig. 522). The embossed and tooled leather of Cordova with its handsome gilding was still employed to cover chairs and walls, although the older plateresque designs gave way to the branches and scrolls of the Spanish baroque. The same is true of the brocades and other fabrics of the period, though here the influence of the French style is more often in evidence.

Another long established Spanish industry that flourished anew at this time was ceramic art. Potteries like those of Talavera and Puente del Arzobispo, which were founded at an earlier period, were now turning out ware to suit the baroque taste. Two new and important potteries were also established at this time; these were the factory of the Conde de Aranda in Alcora and the royal one of El Retiro which owed its existence to the personal initiative of Charles III. The Count of Aranda, who proposed to imitate the ware of Sèvres and Moustier, chose Alcora as the site of his enterprise because industries of this sort had long existed there. Nevertheless the superintendent was a Frenchman by the name of Ollery whom the Count had brought from Moustier and whom he always treated with much affection. Nothing could have been more patriotic than this project;



Fig. 524. – The Cathedral Havana.

the idea was to manufacture as fine porcelain in Spain as they were making in France, Italy and Holland. Artisans from these countries were brought to Spain at great expense as well as clay and the materials for the kilns. Before work was begun, the undertaking had already cost the Count some 50,000 duros. In a few years Alcora was turning out ware of a high quality; "pyramids with children's figures bearing garlands or baskets of fruit, brackets, centre-tables for drawing-rooms and other porcelain furniture, statues, cornucopias and even the plaques to cover the walls and ceiling of an entire room."

About the middle of the Eighteenth Century the Count of Aranda sold the factory to a company, and a German by the name of Knipfer was made director of the same. The latter undertook to produce imitations of Dresden china. Knipfer was succeeded in the direction of this pottery by a number of Frenchmen and Germans who continued to the middle of the last century to produce not only work characteristic of the factory, but also imitations of Dresden, Moustier and Leeds ware. In 1789 the Count of Aranda, who was now only a share holder in the company, was still taking an active interest in the output and seeing that the pastes employed were of an excellent and enduring quality. At one time he engaged in litigation to protect a Frenchman by the name of Cloostermans who had succeeded Knipfer as manager of the institution. Cloostermans suffered from the envious spite of the Spanish workmen and was hated for his religious opinions, but the illustrious statesman never failed to protect him.

So, as we see, the Count of Aranda spent his entire life in encouraging the manufacture of porcelain in Spain. Upon his death the pottery passed into the



Fig. 525. — The Cathedral of Mexico with the Sagrario.

hands of the Duke of Híjar. Production was continued, although less actively, until the middle of the Nineteenth Century (fig. 524).

The factory of El Retiro, just outside Madrid, was established by Charles III in imitation of the royal pottery of Naples at Capo-di-Monte. The working equipment and the operatives were transported in ships especially chartered for the purpose from Naples to Alicante and from there brought to Madrid. The tendency of the works at El Retiro was to reproduce the Chinese porcelains which were then very fashionable. On this account the people of Madrid christened it the factory of China. One of the apartments in the Royal Palace at Madrid and another at Aranjuez are profusely decorated with imitations of Chinese porcelain. The hanging lamp, the walls and even the ceiling are all covered with thousands of pieces. The pottery at El Retiro was not a patriotic industrial enterprise like that of the Count of Aranda at Alcora; it was simply a royal factory intended to supply the monarch with the ware required to furnish and decorate his palaces as well as for royal gifts. After the death of Charles III, his son, Charles IV, consented that some of the output of El Retiro should be sold. At first the product was entirely in the Neapolitan style of the Capo-di-Monte porcelain, but in 1803 Bartolomé Sureda went to Paris to study the technique of the Sèvres factory, and upon his return he was appointed director of El Retiro. Two workmen from Sèvres also came to Madrid, and from this time on, the tendency of this pottery was to imitate the French porcelains. At the time of the



Fig. 526. — Tower of the monastery at Tepotztlan. Mexico.

War of Independence, however, La China was destroyed by French cannon. Ferdinand VII installed the old plant in Moncloa on the banks of the Manzanares near Madrid, where production continued until 1849. The porcelain from both El Retiro and the Alcora factory came to be exported to foreign countries. The Alcora imitations are still frequently mistaken by European dealers for the original ware of Moustier and Leeds.

We have now presented to the reader a brief survey of the monuments and industrial arts of Spain in the Eighteenth Century previous to the neoclassical reaction; but the Spanish styles were also developed in America where they are still cultivated and admired to such an extent that it does not seem rash to prophecy new triumphs for the Spanish baroque, particularly in the West of the United States. Spain did much more for America than people are generally willing to recognize. In many of the nations of Spanish America, the finest monuments date from the Colonial period. We might first mention the cathedral of Santo Domingo where the remains of Columbus are preserved. Here we have a plateresque style which hardly even suggests the baroque (fig. 523). The en-



Fig. 527. — Detail of the belfry of San Francisco Acatepec, in Cholula. Mexico.



Fig. 528. — Altar of the church at Tepotztlan. Mexico.

trance is divided by a central pillar. The lines are such that an effect of perspective is produced which gives an impression of grandeur from a distance; the device is one already employed in the Farnese Palace and some of the baroque churches in Rome. The cathedral of Havana has a handsome stone façade in the Spanish baroque style and is flanked by two towers which harmonize with the edifice (fig. 524).

In Mexico we have first the cathedral which was begun in 1573. Here some of the lines of the interior and other features are still reminiscent of the Gothic style. It is the largest Catholic church in Spanish America, consisting of a nave and two aisles planned by Juan Gómez de Mora, the royal architect of Philip III. At the side of the cathedral and almost a part of it is the Churrigueresque church of the Sagrario, built in 1749 (fig. 525). Just across the mountain range to the south is the Jesuit seminary of Tepotztlan which is still in a comparatively good state of preservation. The church has a belfry which is both graceful and elegant, and although both the façade and the interior are heavily loaded with baroque decoration (figs. 526 and 528), the edifice compels the admiration of the beholder. At Guadalajara the cathedral with its cupola and two high towers dates from 1618. It is famous for its Immaculate Conception by Murillo, one of the finest of that painter's works. The magnificent cathedral of the city of Puebla is also of the Seventeenth Century. Here we find a cupola over the crossing.

In this last Mexican city we find in the Eighteenth Century an artistic centre of considerable importance. Both the monks and the Spanish civil officials encouraged the development of a ceramic industry in imitation of those in Spain. Here were reproduced both the forms and colors of the various Spanish wares, from the Morisco pottery of Valencia to the products of Seville and Talavera. It is probable that the pottery of Puebla was even exported to Spain. This finer type of Mexican pottery seems only to have been produced in the neighborhood of Puebla, where the mountains yield a clay suitable for the manufacture of ma-

jolica. The mountains of San Bartolomé and San Pedro near Totomehuacan contain an excellent white earth, while the fine red clay is obtained in Loreto and Guadalupe, which are also near Puebla. Both materials are mixed in equal proportions. The enamel is not very white and is somewhat thicker than that used in the Spanish factories. The blue color, which is predominant, is also very thick. The style of the designs is stronger and cruder than in the Spanish product; Mexican pottery always has a certain barbaric flavor, but it is very resistant and is excellently suited to exterior decoration. Every American who has visited Mexico City will remember the tiled façade of the palace which is now converted into a popular restaurant. These ceramic workers also made figures of Saints and candelabra, as well as plates and pharmacists' jars (fig. 533).

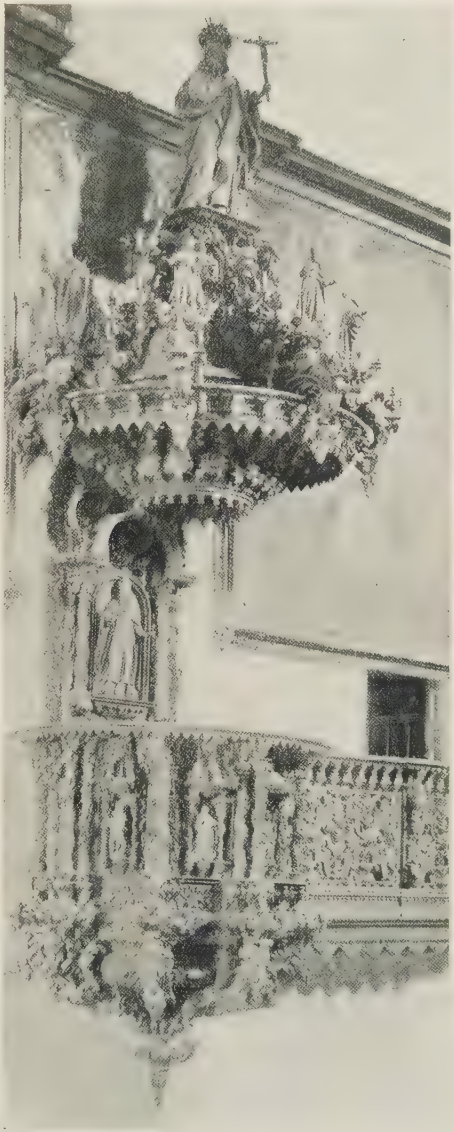


Fig. 529. - Pulpit of the church of San Blas. Cuzco.

The first models were purely Spanish, but a strong Aztec influence gradually crept in, for the workmen were all Indians. Later, it is interesting to find a suggestion of Chinese; chrysanthemums and rosettes like those on the vases from the Far East. But this was only in the decorations; the forms remain those of the plates, jars and gallipots of the Spanish Arab potters. The ceramic workers of this Mexican city made not only small objects, but also larger compositions, such as the decorations of the belfry of San Francisco in Cholula (fig. 527) and the dome of the church of Rosario in Puebla itself. The American visitor to San Diego will see a beautiful example of this type of ceramic decoration in the roof of the Museum in Balboa Park. The building is an excellent reproduction of a Mexican church of the Spanish Colonial period (fig. 532).

The Spanish monks, in spite of the severe censure to which they have been subjected in later times, represented a superior culture in the desert lands



Fig. 530. — The Cathedral. Bogota.

of New Mexico and California. The ruins of their monasteries, better known as Missions, form one of the most picturesque features of the Southwest and the Pacific Coast. The earlier Missions of Texas and New Mexico are the oldest religious foundations in the United States; some of them date from the Sixteenth Century. They are usually built of adobe brick and are covered with flat roofs; along the façade runs a portico which was a sort of vestibule to the church. These first buildings of the Padres, many of them in ruins today, recall the dangers and struggles of the missionaries. Many of them lost their lives in regions which are today among the most civilized in North America. In California the Missions are constructed of both adobe and brick, some stone entering into the construction; these are later and more artistic, perhaps, than those of New Mexico. They are usually white and have a brick cloister and a baroque church of simple lines.

These modest monuments have been the object of much interest to the artists and architects of California, and from the rather scanty repertory of

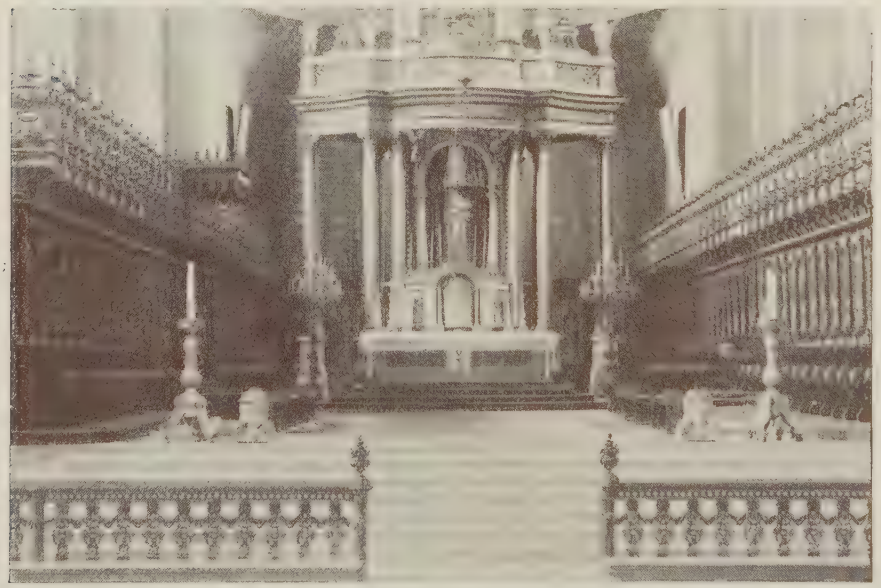


Fig. 531. — Chancel and high altar of the cathedral. Lima.

rural baroque forms, a new style called "Mission" has grown up in the West and Southwest of the United States, just as the American Colonial originated in the East. This has been developing for the last thirty years or more, but more recently it has been felt that the comparatively few forms found among the Missions were not sufficient for an entire new monumental style. Consequently to-day in California where it is desired to create something characteristic of that part of the country which grew out of a Spanish colony, a most successful attempt is being made to imitate the baroque architecture of Mexico. Thus, largely at second hand, the architects copied the cathedral of Santiago, the cupolas of the Pilar and many other great monuments of the baroque of which the Missions themselves were but a faint and distant echo. The ability with which these motives are treated by the American architects would seem to justify a prophecy that North America will produce the last fruits of the baroque art of Spain.

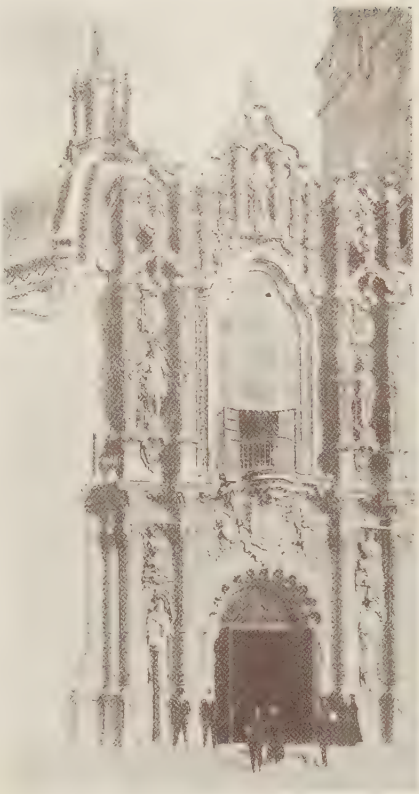


Fig. 532. — Modern façade in imitation of the Spanish baroque. California.

In other Spanish-American countries, particularly those bordering on the Pacific Ocean, great buildings still recall the Spanish Colonial period. Indeed their style is sometimes even more extreme than that of the mother coun-



Fig. 533. — Examples of the so-called Talavera ware of Puebla. Mexico.

try. Arequipa, Lima, Cuzco and Bogotá still retain the general appearance of a Spanish city, with their churches, palaces and porticoed squares.

Summary. — It is only lately that the baroque art of Spain has begun to arouse the interest it deserves. The neoclassical writers like Caveda condemned this style and it still suffers to some extent from this anathema. The name by which it goes in Spain, Churrigueresque, is a mistaken one. Churriguera was an architect of Valladolid whose work was both judicious and balanced, and his name should not be employed to characterize the more extravagant specimens of the style. He can only be taken as one of the many artists of his period. The most important examples of this style are the façade of the cathedral of Santiago, the church of El Pilar at Saragossa, the church of Loyola, etc. An enthusiasm for decorating and rebuilding existed in every part of Spain at this time; even the country churches were furnished with new altars and embellished with baroque façades. When the Bourbons came to the throne, they brought architects to rebuild the royal palaces in the French style, and we find at La Granja and Aranjuez the work of these French builders The Royal Palace at Madrid, which had been burned a few years before, was now reconstructed by two Italian architects, Juvara and Giovanni Battista Sachetti, in accordance with the French tastes which then prevailed in Piedmont. In the provinces private homes were also extensively rebuilt during this period of general prosperity throughout Spain, thanks to the commerce with America. Furniture and room-interiors, particularly bed-rooms, as well as chests and goldsmith's work, all shared in the baroque tastes of the time. Two new potteries were founded at Alcora and El Retiro. The one at Alcora was a patriotic enterprise of the Count of Aranda who wished to imitate in Spain the porcelains of Leeds and Moustier. Aranda devoted his fortune and his intelligence to this public spirited undertaking. The factory at El Retiro, on the other hand, was purely a project of the crown. Charles III brought from Naples, from the royal factory of Capo-di-Monte, the necessary workmen and equipment. Later the Sèvres porcelain was imitated here, but they also produced imitations of Chinese porcelains, which gave the place the name of La China among the people of Madrid. The factory was destroyed by the French and restored by Ferdinand VII in Moncloa near Madrid and on the bank of the Manzanares River. The baroque art of Spain was accepted everywhere in Spanish America. The first American cathedral at Santo Domingo is somewhat baroque and that of Havana is entirely so. In Mexico we find handsome baroque churches at the capital, Guadalajara and Puebla. Just outside this last city was established a ceramic industry in imitation of the Spanish potteries. In the West and Southwest of the United States the Missions of the Spanish Padres are graceful and simple examples of the baroque style and their forms are widely copied by modern architects in those regions where they are found.

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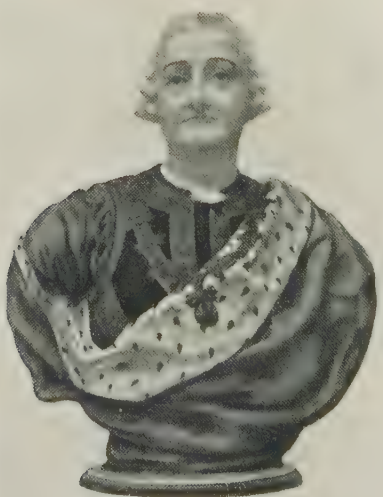


Fig. 534. — Bust of the Count of Aranda. *(Alcora.)*



Fig. 535. — Velasquez. The Surrender of Breda. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

CHAPTER XVII

SPANISH PAINTING FROM BERRUGUETE TO GOYA.

PANTOJA, EL GRECO, MORALES, RIBERA, VELASQUEZ, MURILLO, VILADOMAT, GOYA.

It was not many years ago that the Castilian critics began the study of painting in that country with the name of Alphonso Berruguete. He was the first painter of whom anything more was known than the information afforded by bare references in the archives and the celebrated author of an altar-piece at Avila, the panels of which are now in the Prado Museum. The ignorance and scorn for anything prior to Berruguete formed a lively contrast with the interest with which the humble primitives were studied in Catalonia. More recently a number of Castilian Gothic paintings on wood have been acquired by the Prado, although they have been relegated to the vestibule of the museum. But this official acknowledgment is little more than a feeble indication of the interest in mediaeval painting which is becoming more and more marked among the better Castilian critics today. The art of painting never died out in Central Spain. We have evidence to the contrary in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the



Fig. 536. — Berruguete. Sermon of St. Peter Martyr. Altar of Avila. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

Bibles of Leon, the frescoes of San Baudelio de Berlanga and the countless Gothic paintings on wood in the provincial churches and the antique shops of Madrid, down to the works of Bermejo, Alphonso de Baena and the imitators of Van Eyck in the Fifteenth Century and those of Alphonso Berruguete, the first painter of the Sixteenth Century.

Little is known as yet of Berruguete who worked under Ferdinand and Isabella and Philip the Fair. The style of his art can be studied only in the altar from Avila. The traditions of the local Castilian school of painters of altar-pieces must have still been alive, for his work shows no effect of Van Eyck's soujourn in the peninsula. In a sense it represents a step backward, but it is so purely Spanish that we are justified in calling Berruguete the first Castilian painter of the Renaissance. On the altar-piece of Avila is represented the story of the Dominican St. Peter Martyr, his exhortations and struggles with the heretics (fig. 536). On one of the panels we see an auto de fe of the early days of the Inquisition attended, apparently, by Ferdinand and Isabella. We are not entirely certain as to the event, but Berruguete evidently anticipated the historical paintings of autos de fe of the Seventeenth Century which we now find in other rooms of the Prado Museum.

This first Castilian painter was succeeded by a series of portrait painters. Charles V hardly needed to turn to Spanish artists, when he had Titian and Leoni. In the reign of Philip II the famous portrait painter, Antonio Moro came to Spain and was the master of Sánchez Coello and the latter's pupils. These artists did little more than paint the royal personages. Their style was very Castilian, but they lacked the initiative to attempt anything more ambitious (figures 537 and 538). Sánchez Coello, or Coelho, was supposed to have been a Portuguese, but Cean Bermúdez has shown that he probably came from Benifairó in the kingdom of Valencia. In 1541 he was living at Madrid, where he was

married. In 1552 he accompanied Moro to Lisbon, but he soon returned to enter the service of Philip II who appointed him court painter. The most cordial relations seem to have existed between the King and the artist. Philip II called him his "Portuguese Titian," and visited his studio every day, where he enjoyed watching the painter at work. The King would even call upon him unannounced, when the artist was sitting at a meal with his wife and children at home. Besides his portraits of the members of the royal family, which mostly disappeared when the Alcázar was burned, he also painted five altar-pieces in the Escorial, each representing two saints. He died in 1590, leaving a large fortune and a number of pupils. Among the last were a certain López who went to Portugal, Urbina who continued work in the Escorial and Pantoja de la Cruz who was his successor as the portrait-painter of the royal family (fig. 538).



Fig. 537.— Sánchez Coello. A friar. *(Escorial.)*

In the meantime a painter of religious figures appeared in Estremadura. This was Morales, called *El Divino* because of the nobility and spirituality of his subjects. Many of them remind us of Van Eyck and Van der Weyden. At a time when his countrymen, such as Cortez and Pizarro, were conquering new worlds, Morales displayed little ambition. Palomino describes him in his old age, feeble and half blind, and living on a pension granted him by Philip II when the latter passed through Badajoz. Morales painted entirely upon wood, which shows his conservatism, and he never wearied of repeating two or three types. These were a delicate slender Virgin with the Child at her



PHOTOS. ANDERSON

Fig. 538.— Pantoja. Portrait of Isabelle of Valois. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 539. — Morales. Virgin and Child.
(Prado.) MADRID.



Fig. 540. — Morales. Mater Dolorosa.
(Hermitage Museum.) PETROGRAD.

breast, a Christ crowned with thorns, dressed in the purple mantle and bearing a reed scepter, and a Descent from the Cross in which the dead Saviour lies in the arms of Mary. They are small paintings on wood with beautiful reds, greens and violets which are like enamel (figs. 539 and 540).

While Morales was deriving his art almost entirely from the Flemish school, Juan de Juanes in Valencia turned rather to the Italian masters, and in Seville we find another school where the majority of the artists had travelled in Italy. Pacheco called one of these, Luis Vargas, "the Light of Painting and the most worthy father of the art in his town, Seville." Vargas passed the greater portion of his life in Rome. Another painter came from Italy, a Fleming by the name of Kampreneer, who was known among the Sevillian artists as El Campaña, and the poet, Pablo Céspedes, also painted at Rome. The famous Pacheco, who was the father-in-law and master of Velasquez, admired only Michelangelo and Roman painting. During the Sixteenth Century Seville was not only the gateway to America, but also a centre of Italian influence.

While artistic Spain was still hesitating between the tradition of Van Eyck, as carried on by Morales, and the admiration for Italy which was felt by the other painters of the peninsula, a young Greek by the name of Dominico Theotocopuli arrived in Spain, where he became known as El Greco. The originality and independence of this man was to give a most powerful impulse to Spanish art. He was a native of Candia in Crete, and it seems likely



El Greco. History of St. Maurice. *(Escorial.)*



Fig. 541. — El Greco. Jesus of Nazareth.
(Prado.) MADRID.



Fig. 542. — El Greco. El hombre de la mano.
(Prado.) MADRID.

that he had received his first lessons in the art of painting in the Orient. His work recalls the mosaics of the churches of Constantinople, the long nervous figures so popular with the last schools of Byzantine painting. Crete was then a Venetian dependency, and the young man from Candia first went to Venice where he finished his education in the school of Tintoretto. There was evidently an excellent understanding between master and pupil, for the characters of the two men resembled one another in many respects. Even the details of Tintoretto's technique were imitated by his brilliant pupil, such as Tintoretto's rather unusual procedure of using clay figures. He would dress them and set them at various heights in order to form an idea in advance of the perspective of the proposed picture. "In 1611," writes Pacheco, "Dominico Greco showed me a cupboard filled with clay models which he had made to use in connection

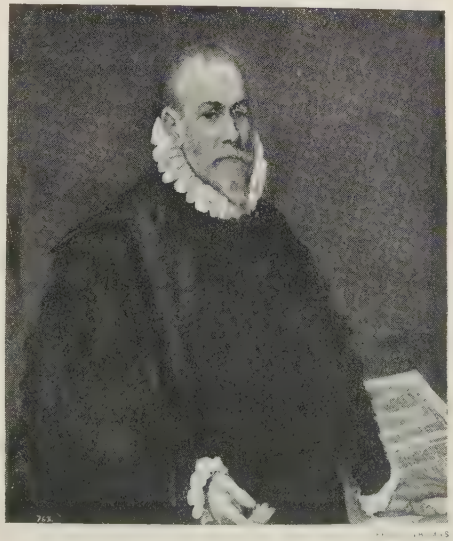


Fig. 543. — El Greco. Portrait of a physician.
(Prado.) MADRID.

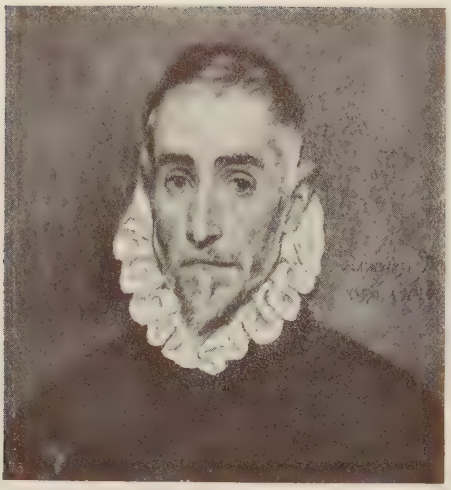


Fig. 544. — El Greco. Portrait of an unknown man. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

with his work." El Greco borrowed from Tintoretto in many other ways; indeed, it is not unreasonable to believe that if he had not left Italy, El Greco would have been little more than a Byzantine pupil of Tintoretto. It is interesting to note that the few works ascribed to El Greco executed in his first manner, before he came to Spain, were taken for the paintings of Venetians, such as Veronese, Tintoretto and Bassano.

From Venice he went to Rome where he cultivated the friendship of Giorgio Giulio Clovio, the famous miniaturist who had illustrated an antiphonary for Charles V. A letter of the year 1570 from Clovio recommends the young Dominico to a Roman cardinal, and it is very possible that Clovio himself may have suggested the journey to Spain. We know positively that he came to Spain a few years



Fig. 545. — El Greco. St. James. *(Hispanic Society.)* NEW YORK.



Fig. 546. — El Greco. Holy Family. *(Hispanic Society.)* NEW YORK.



El Greco. The Burial of the Count of Orgaz. *(Church of Santo Tomé.)*

later; in 1577 he signed his first picture painted in that country. This is the Assumption of the Virgin which he painted for the church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo, now in the Chicago Museum. This first canvas painted in Spain reminds us of Titian, but in his famous picture of "The Disrobing of Christ," painted the following year for the cathedral of Toledo, he already appears as a great innovator. From 1577 until his death at an advanced age in 1614 it may be said that he hardly moved from Toledo, the beloved city of his adoption.



Fig. 547.—Ribera. Portrait of himself. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

Pallavicino, poet, monk and friend of El Greco, wrote: "Crete gave him life, and Toledo, his brushes," but this is hardly correct. Crete must have also "given his brushes" to this last Byzantine painter. We might better say that it was Toledo that gave him his real life, his profound conception of the world and its content. Not only did El Greco comprehend better than any other the beauty of the spirit of Castile, but he himself seems to have been understood by the men most representative of his time. Even a pedant like Pacheco found nothing to criticize in his work, and men of genius, such as Gongora, Pallavicino and Covarrubias, appreciated him and gave him unstinted praise. The religious organizations and cathedral chapters of Toledo had the acrimonious differences with El Greco which so often occur between a corporation and an outstanding personality, but they never ceased to engage him to paint their altar-pieces and other pictures. We find El Greco's work everywhere in Toledo; there are few churches there which do not display one of his paintings in a prominent place. Intellectuals and general public alike, they were all the admirers of El Greco. When a dispute arose with the cathedral chapter regarding the price of his "Disrobing of Christ," the arbitrator based his



Fig. 548.—Ribera. Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*



Fig. 549. — Ribera. St. Onofre.
(Gallery of the Duque de Alba.) MADRID.

decision on the fact that the painting was one of the best he had ever seen, and if its value were measured by its merits, it would be worth much more. In spite of his success he seems always to have been in straits for money. A document has been preserved authorizing an advance of money for the purchase of colors, especially ultramarine. In the writings of José Martínez, which reflect the Toledo traditions of the artist, he dwells on the extravagance of El Greco. Although he earned many ducats, he spent them on costly furniture; he even hired musicians to entertain him at his meals. Martínez adds that he was an eloquent orator and that he held his own works in such esteem that he often would not sell them but pledged them to those who wished to possess them.



PHOTO ROIG

Fig. 550. — Ribera. Jacob's Dream. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

We do not know who it was who introduced El Greco to the Spanish court. Philip II engaged him to paint his two famous pictures for the Escorial, the History of St. Maurice (Plate XXXVIII) and the so-called *Gloria de Felipe II* in which the King is represented as kneeling between his favorite Saints and beholding a fanciful vision of Heaven and Earth. The King does not appear to have been very well satisfied however. The picture of St. Maurice was never set over the altar in the Escorial for which it was intended, but an Italian painting was placed there instead. El Greco's work is now in the Escorial Gallery and is the most suggestive in the collection. We see in the distance the martyrdom of the Christian legionaries, while in the foreground is a group of leader in animated discussion. The gestures of the latter give the impression that something extraordinary is occurring, while above is an Apocalyptic vision of angels among refulgent clouds. It is a glorification of the soldiers who were martyrs to their faith and should have been of interest to the Catholic King and his military leaders.



Fig. 551. — Velasquez. The Disciples at Emmaus. *(Altman Collection.)* New York.

The critics recognize three periods in El Greco's work. The Disrobing of Christ is the picture most characteristic of his first manner (after his arrival in Spain). The St. Maurice in the Escorial best represents his second manner; the heavenly radiance with its strange colors gives an almost vaporous effect to the atmosphere. El Greco had a strange love for these visions of luminous clouds which we also



Fig. 552. — Velasquez. Adoration of the Magi. *(Prado.)* Madrid.



Fig. 553. – Velasquez. The Topers. *(Prado.)* Madrid.



Fig. 554. – Velasquez. The Forge of Vulcan. *(Prado.)* Madrid.



Velasquez. Portrait of his daughter. *(Hispanic Society.)* NEW YORK.





Figs. 555 and 556. — Velasquez. Admiral Pulido Pareja. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

see in the pictures of Tintoretto. The former's most famous picture, the Burial of the Count of Orgaz, has the same dual character as the St. Maurice. In the lower half is the funeral retinue of monks and gentlemen standing about St. Augustine and St. Stephen who have come to bury their devout follower, the Count of Orgaz. But above we see again the clouds and the angels who bear his soul before the throne of Christ. This painting, which seems like a summary of all El Greco's compositions, still remains in the city of Toledo, from which so many others have been carried away. It is in the very church of Santo Tomé for which it was painted. The lower portion with its series of portraits possesses a psychological intensity which is not surpassed even by Velasquez. (Plate XXXIX.) It is the last manner of El Greco which has given rise to the stories of his insanity, extravagance and faulty vision by which it has been attempted to explain the later work of this painter. The pictures dating from this period cannot well be described with words; nor do reproductions give anything but an inadequate idea of the light and coloring of these paintings. It is a new world that El Greco created for himself. The figures are elongated and twisted like beings from another planet, and the lighting disregards the laws of physics. The very atmosphere is aflame with yellows, greens and purples. The beholder wonders whether he is awake or dreaming. Indeed, the effect is one of supernatural beauty.

El Greco possessed a much more extensive repertory than did Morales or the painters of his period, but like all great artists he did not hesitate to repeat his themes with that delicate change of feeling which is the secret of art. His fa-

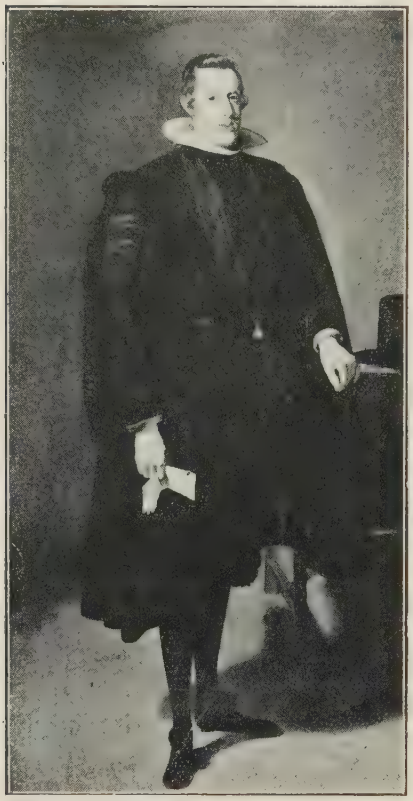


Fig. 557. — Velasquez. King Philip IV. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 558. — Velasquez. The Infante Don Fernando. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

vorite subject is the congregation of the Apostles or a series of thirteen pictures of Jesus and the disciples (figs. 541 and 545), and he was also fond of painting the stigmata of St. Francis, the Annunciation and the Holy Family (fig. 546) as well as his marvelous portraits (figs. 542, 543 and 544). No one could better have understood Spanish society in his time than a Byzantine. When he died, his library was largely composed of Greek and Italian books, and the witnesses of his will were two Greeks who, like himself, had become residents of Toledo. El Greco, however, was not an isolated case. Clovio, too, was a Macedonian or a Byzantine, and a number of other Greek painters in Italy were successful in their art. In Spain we know of at least two others; one worked in Catalonia where he was known as Pere Serafí, and another, in Seville at this time.

The power of Spain to hold her own during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries is also seen in the case of another artist, the Valencian José Ribera. Although he lived in Italy from the age of eighteen, he never lost his Spanish characteristics. He signed himself as a Valencian and was known to everyone as "the Spaniard." We do not know how or why Ribera went to Italy. The best account of his life is found in a book of anecdotes published in Naples. It treats of the Neapolitan painters and among them Ribera. For a number of years he seems to have worked at Rome in the school of Caravaggio where he developed his talent and formed his style. Although the protegé of a cardinal who picked him up hungry on the street, Ribera with his love for freedom escaped from the

palace filled with servants to live among the beggars of the city. In this prolonged contact with life unvarnished the youthful pupil of Caravaggio became a man. He became ever fonder of painting the gaunt bodies which he had seen through the beggars' rags; he took for his subjects half-naked philosophers, penitents and martyred saints flayed or covered with bleeding wounds. His decrepit old men and tattered anchorites can at least breathe the free air, since the world is what it is; they perceive the never ending manifestations of life which are seldom felt by the dressed up puppets that ride in the carriages of the rich. This is the psychology of Ribera.



Fig. 559. — Velasquez. The Infante Baltasar Carlos. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

But Ribera's life was hardly consistent with this feeling as time went on. He went to Naples, where he impressed the court of the Viceroys with his masterly art. His commissions from Naples and Spain permitted him in his turn to keep a carriage and live a life of extravagance and ostentation. The Neapolitan publication already mentioned gives numerous anecdotes of Ribera. He was accustomed to work hard for some six hours every morning, and in the afternoon he called on his friends like a gentleman of leisure. His principal exploit was to organize a *Camorra* with two other artists the object of which was to prevent any foreign painter from winning fame and profit by painting the chapel of St. Gennaro in the cathedral, which was as yet undecorated. A number of artists were summoned from Rome to execute this important work, but they were all obliged to flee from the persecutions of the Camorrists headed by Ribera who made life impossible for them in Naples. Not for



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Fig. 560. — Velasquez and del Mazo. Mousquetiers. (fragment of the picture: Saragossa). *(Prado.)* MADRID.



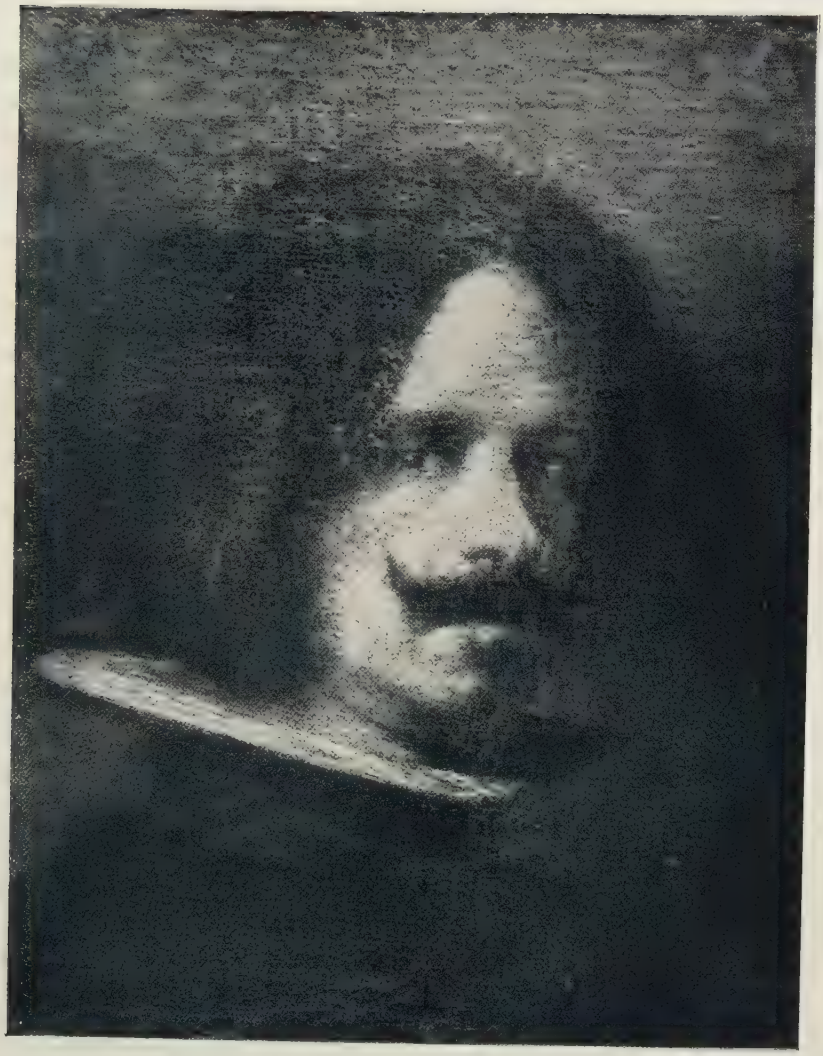
Fig. 561.—Velasquez. Pope Innocent X.
(Doria Gallery.) ROME.

nothing had Ribera lived in the Italian underworld. His end was as fantastic as his life had been. As an artist of renown, his studio was often visited by the Viceroy who was a prince of the blood, a natural son of Philip IV. This man fell in love with Ribera's daughter, and had her abducted and taken to Palermo where she was placed in a convent. The unhappy father, frantic with grief, spent his last years shut up in his house at Posilipo, a monomaniac. One day he disappeared without leaving a trace. At Naples it was thought that he had returned to his native city of Játiva in Valencia, where he had not been since his early youth. But nothing more is known of him except that a record of his burial at Naples has finally come to light.

Ribera occupies a much more important place in the history of Spanish painting than is generally conceded to him. This Spanish expatriate at Naples, who seemed to exercise so little influence on the destinies of art in Spain, affected his compatriots, particularly Velasquez, more than any other painter. Neither Morales, with his almost mediaeval enamel effects, nor El Greco, the ecstatic painter of another world, nor yet the imitators of Italian art like Juan de Juanes, who admired only the pedantic and sugary output of Guido Reni, were capable of founding a real school or inspiring an art so modern and national in character as that of Diego Velasquez. It was Ribera who introduced into Spain the vivid realism of Caravaggio, a man far in advance of his time. Although in some of Ribera's pictures, like the John the



Fig. 562.—Velasquez. Cardinal nepote.
(Hispanic Society.) NEW YORK.



Velasquez. Portrait of himself. *(Museum of Valencia.)*

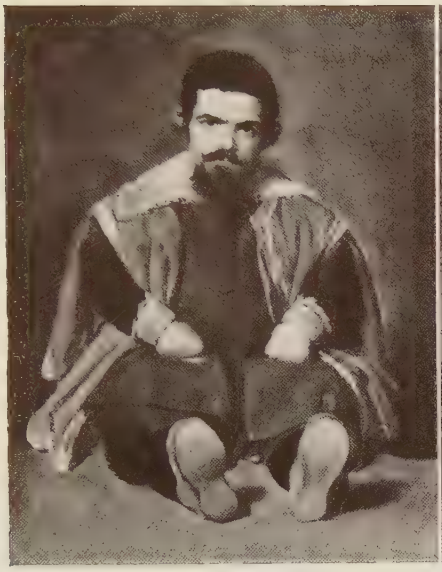


Fig. 563. — Velasquez. Don Sebastián. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 564. – Velasquez. Don Antonio el Inglés. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

Baptist in the Prado, the St. Onofre (fig. 549), we see reminiscences of Leonardo, his art is founded upon Nature, plain and unembellished. Through the paintings of this Spanish emigrant, Spain learned to know a new ideal and to respect the miracle of Nature itself. She learned to value life, even though it manifested itself in ragged beggars, cripples or the misformed buffoons painted by Velasquez. The latter appreciated Ribera through his pictures and must have known him personally in Naples.

Velasquez was born in Seville in 1599. We know little of his youth. His first masters were Herrera, known as the Elder, and Pacheco, of whom Lope de Vega said: "And where Herrera is the Sun, Pacheco is a star." This verse gives us some idea of the comparative esteem in which these men were held by their contemporaries. Notwithstanding, Pacheco's studio was the meeting place of all the artists and literary men of Seville, and if Velasquez did not find here a great master to initiate him into the secrets of art, he at least heard innu-



Fig. 565. — Velasquez. Pablillos de Valladolid. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

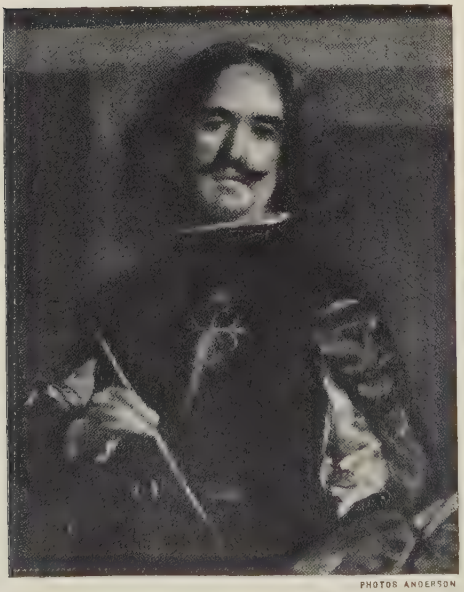


Fig. 566. — Velasquez. The King.
(Prado.) MADRID.



Fig. 567. — Velasquez. El Conde-Duque.
(Prado.) MADRID.

merable controversies and discussions which would stimulate his ardor and interest. He finally married one of the daughters of Pacheco named Juana.



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 568. — Velasquez. The Painter.
(Prado.) MADRID.

It has been said that Pacheco's fame consisted in his being the father-in-law of Velasquez; he was extremely fond of the younger man, and liked to be called his master. But Pacheco, as a matter of fact, was a man of considerable authority and importance in Seville at that time. He wrote a treatise called *Arte de Pintura* in which we find not a little information of value, in spite of the pedantry and insipid erudition of the book. The most interesting passages are those which mention Velasquez, though unfortunately they are only too brief. He remarks that Velasquez occupies the third place among those who have a genius for painting and that he has given him his daughter for a wife as he was "pleased with the talent, neatness and good nature"

of the young artist. We still have the contract dated 1611 in which Pacheco accepts the boy, Velasquez, as an apprentice for six years. According to another document recently discovered Velasquez seems to have had a studio of his own at Seville in 1620, when he was only twenty-one years old. Pacheco's book tells us of the great artist's studies, how he painted wine-shops and street types and that Velasquez kept a country boy as a model whom he could make laugh or cry to suit the need of the painter. Finally we read of Velasquez' first journey to Madrid to present himself at court and the brilliant success he achieved during the following year. He went back to Madrid again and compelled the admiration of everyone with his portrait of Fonseca, a Sevillian priest who was the royal chaplain. His triumph could hardly have been a more complete one. He was summoned one evening to the palace of the Count-Duke Olivares and not long after received a commission to paint the portraits of the King and other members of the royal family. He was rewarded with a salaried post in the palace. Velasquez' life was not one of adventure; he seems to have experienced none of the griefs and passions that so often accompany the career of a great artist. Documents have come down to us, it is true, in which he complains of delays in receiving his pay, but who did not have to wait for compensation in the Spain of Philip IV? His post at court was never endangered, and he never lacked the affection and protection of the King. In the picture of Las Meniñas (the Maids of Honor) we see the painter himself and in one of the apartments of the Alcázar King and Queen. Here every detail of the construction, the doors and even the lighting are typically Castilian. The artist is painting the portrait of the Infanta Margarita surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting (Isabel de Velasco and María de Sarmiento), dwarfs and servants, the retinue of the little princess. The King and Queen have entered the room and are admiring the color and lighting; they themselves may have suggested the grouping of the strange composition, the most famous in Spanish art.



Fig. 569. — Velasquez. Queen Mariana of Austria. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

We have mentioned Las Meniñas first, for the work is a picture of Velasquez' life in the royal Alcázar and here he appears in contact with the monarchs themselves. At a single glance we see his royal patron, the palace



Fig. 570.—Velasquez. Venus and Cupid. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

and the illustrious artist whom the King with remarkable intuition had chosen among all the other painters of his time. Portraits of the other members of the royal family naturally followed; the Queens, the brothers of the King, Don Carlos and Don Fernando, of whom the latter was known as "the Cardinal" as he was Archbishop of Toledo (fig. 558), and the sons and nephews of the monarch. The able Olivares, the buffoons and the entire court are also represented on the canvases of Velasquez. Even the landscape of Castile finds its best interpreter in this artist. In the portrait of Don Fernando, that of the Infante Baltasar Carlos riding a pony and the pictures of the King and Queen, in court dress or out hunting, the background is always the rocky Guadarrama with live-oaks beneath the radiant sky of the Castilian plateau.

The king was fond of Velasquez' company and took him with him on his journeys; once on the way to Catalonia the artist painted his portrait at Fraga. One of the few of Velasquez' letters which have come down to us was written on the return journey from the Island of Faisanes, where he had accompanied the court. This silent man who, according to Palomino, "spoke only by order of the King," was equally disinclined to write. In the documents of the time of one of Velasquez' journeys the King urges his representatives in Italy to persuade the painter to return to Spain, and he makes an allusion to the abstracted temperament of the artist. Nevertheless, he was no idle dreamer; he was of a steadfast character, conscientious, and never forgetful of his obligations. Risking the displeasure of the King, he remained the constant friend of Olivares when his old patron fell into disgrace. Above all he was ever loyal to his king, a trait



Fig. 571. — Velasquez. The Spinners. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

which corresponded to patriotism today. Some letters of one of the ministers of the Duke of Modena tell of the energy and tenacity with which Velasquez sought to obtain for his royal master a number of Correggio's pictures. Philip IV was making the greatest efforts to maintain his prestige in Italy, and the young and vain Duke of Modena and Ferrara, impressed by the Spanish crown, finally gave up the desired paintings which are now some of the most highly prized possessions of the Prado at Madrid.

During his entire life Velasquez was a prodigious worker, but he remained simple and unspoiled. While Rubens was running from court to court, surrounded by princely magnificence and paid for his pictures by their weight in gold, Velasquez earned his living as a gentleman-usher of the palace, devoted only to his art and his king. In his portraits of himself we see the painter dressed in black and gradually growing older; he was always the excellent man whose neatness and good nature pleased his father-in-law, Pacheco.

Twice, however, Velasquez left the court to enjoy the freedom of an Italian trip. The first time was in 1629 while he was still a young man. This was a genuine period of study and lasted nearly two years. Velasquez observed, analyzed and copied the great works of antiquity, sketched the marbles in the Vatican and studied Ribera, Caravaggio, Michelangelo and Titian. He showed a marked preference for the Venetian painters, but was not particularly enthusiastic over Raphael. At Rome he lived in the Villa Medici until he fell ill there of a fever, and this may have contributed more to his style than has been sus-



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 572. — Velasquez. The Hermits. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

pected. He was a long time in recovering, and we know that the sick and slow convalescents feel with greater intensity.

He returned to Spain greatly changed. At first he had been much interested in chiaro-oscuro, preoccupied with bright light effects, as we see in his Adoration in the Prado at Madrid (fig. 552), the marvelous scene of the Disciples at Emmaus, now in the Altman Collection at New York (fig. 551), and the picture of the Topers, his last before the Italian journey (fig. 553).

In the two large compositions painted at Rome and afterwards brought to Spain, however, we note a material progress, particularly in his treatment of shadow, his models and his coloring; but his technique always remains very Spanish in character. These pictures are Joseph's Coat and the Forge of Vulcan; (fig. 554); Velasquez' admiration for classical art never made him any the less a Spaniard.

Upon his return to Spain he became for a time little more than a portrait-painter. This was the period of his most famous portraits; his powers of penetration appear at their height at this time. Once when the King told him it was rumored that he could paint nothing but heads, Velasquez replied that he could not wish for greater praise (figs. 555 to 560 and Plate XL).

In 1649, when he was fifty years old, he began again to experiment, and we have an example of that second youth which so often comes to a great genius. As though conscious of this transformation, Velasquez set out a second time for Italy. His ostensible errand was to engage decorators for the royal edifices and acquire works of art, for he was now inspector of works in the palace. This second journey also lasted two years, a complete vacation from the court, family cares and the usual tasks of life; two years away from the white Guadarrama and the mountains of El Pardo, which could be seen from the windows of the royal Alcázar, and two more glorious years of Venice, Florence, Naples and Rome. One can hardly imagine a more perfect recreation for those expert eyes and that spirit which understood so well the world and men. It was no longer the rather frail youth of the first journey, but a famous master whose reputation had



Velasquez. Crucifixion. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

already preceded him to Italy. The Pope wished him to paint his portrait, and then he executed that of the pontiff's nephew, a cardinal who was second only to the Pope in the Roman Curia (figs. 561 and 562). The princes of Italy begged him for the portrait of his king or his own; the Medici wanted his portrait of himself to place in their gallery of famous painters in Florence. Here again we see the great Spanish painter with gloved hands holding back a curtain as though still a gentleman-usher of the palace. (Plate XLI.)

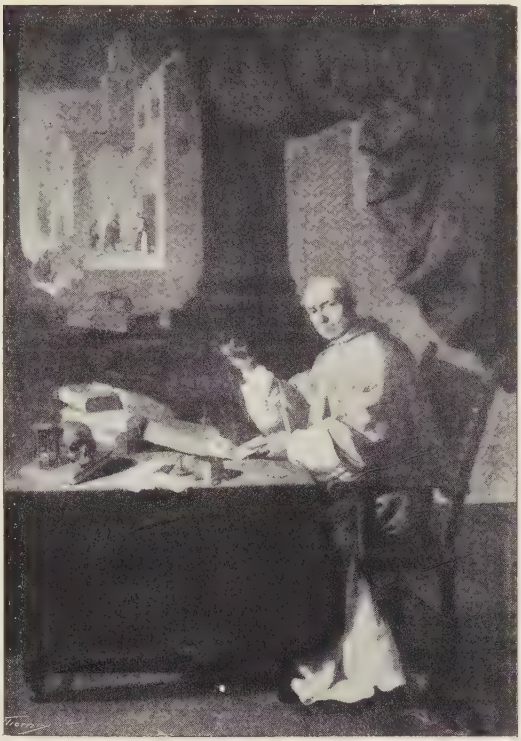


Fig. 573. — Zurbaran. Fray Gonzalo de Illescas. *(Monastery of Guadalupe.)*

The portrait of the Pope was an extraordinary success; indeed, it is still one of the most admired pictures in Rome. We have the preliminary sketches which the painter made in order to familiarize himself with the subject and afterwards compose his masterpiece. Not only does the head of Innocent X amaze us with its naturalness; we are held spell-bound by the arrangement of the drapery, the gleam of silk and the folds of the robe.

Upon his return to Spain, the last ten years of his life saw the creation of the painter's most mature works. His coloring took on a pearly luster and there was a new delicacy in his gray tones which have been the despair of all who attempted to imitate him. His technique, too, changed; we find a rapid and bold style which the Spaniards call his *manera abreviada*. It must have been at this time that he used the long brushes of which Palomino wrote and by which he could produce his effects standing at some distance from the canvas.

The court of Philip IV had lost much of its gaiety by this time. The King was growing older, and his brother, the Cardinal, who was a tireless hunter, was now far away governing the Low Countries. Olivares, his old protector, had fallen in consequence of complaints from Catalonia and every other part of Spain. The future looked dark; even the heir to the throne seemed incapable. Philip IV now surrounded himself, not only with buffoons as in earlier days, but also with the gossips of the court. Velasquez observed them all and dissected them; their pictures hang in the Prado, a lesson that Spain might still



Fig. 574. — Zurbaran. St. Casilda. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

well heed (figs. 563, 564 and 565). Here, too, is the dauntless Count-Duke on horseback beneath a smoky sky (figures 566 and 567).

Velasquez was a court painter, and he could not but be impressed by the political conditions of his time. Nevertheless, he rarely painted anything of a political character, even in allegory. The only surviving composition of this sort is the famous "Surrender of Breda" to the Marquis of Spinola (fig. 535). Another which has disappeared was the "Expulsion of the Moriscos" from Valencia.

"An eye to see, and a hand to paint," was Leonardo's formula, and it was evidently that of Velasquez as well. He does not weary us with commentaries; the world itself was too interesting to him. During his last years he painted the famous study in lighting effects called The Spinners (fig. 571) and the justly prized Venus and Cupid which strikes as clear a note in the history of painting as does Titian's Venus or that of Giorgione (fig. 570).

In his religious pictures Velasquez shows that he was capable of lofty sentiment and deep feeling. His Crucifixion, which he painted for the sacristy of the monastery of San Plácido, produces an impression which will never be forgotten. His means are of the simplest; he does not resort to a tormented body twisted by grief and pain. His Christ appears natural and inert; there is little evidence of suffering or death. But the body is that of the Son of Man, and the head alone is a reproach to mankind who made Him suffer. (Plate XLII.) During the last years before his death he painted a Coronation of the Virgin for the oratory of Queen Mariana and his marvelous canvas of St. Paul and St. Anthony, known as the Hermits. The latter picture reminds us of the Fourteenth Century frescoes on the wall of the Campo Santo at Pisa. It is a continuation of the style of the Middle Ages; in these baroque times Velasquez could still paint like a primitive. In the background we see St. Anthony who is coming to the door of St. Paul's cave, while in the foreground the two saints are conversing. To the right is the burial of St. Paul, the lions digging his grave (fig. 572).

This was Velasquez' last work, a noble exit. Upon his return from Fuenterrabía, where he had acompanied the king, he fell ill of a fever and died the sixth of August, 1660, at the age of sixty one. When the king was notified that

the post was vacant, he wrote upon the margin of the communication: "I am prostrated." And, indeed, he had lost his best friend. What was Philip IV without Velasquez? His entire reign had been dignified by this sincere and close friendship, ill-starred as it was in every other respect. Velasquez died deeply in debt; as a court official he had made irregular drafts upon the treasury, but his tangled financial affairs were straightened out. In this he was more fortunate than Cervantes, with whom he shared his supremacy in the field of art and letters.



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 575. — Cano. Santa Inés. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

Other great painters, almost contemporary with Velasquez, and men of strong personality complete the story of Spanish painting. Francisco Zurbaran was born in 1598, a year before Velasquez, at Fuente de Cantos and died in 1663, probably in Madrid. We may consider him another artist of the Sevillian school, for he was sent to that city to study in the studio of Herrera the Elder, where Velasquez had been before he went to work under Pacheco. While still a young man, he painted on the altar of the cathedral the Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas, now in the Museum. Above the clouds is the Saint with the Fathers of the Church, and in a lower zone, the donors and a group of monks. In the background we see a view of the city.

Like his countryman, Morales, Zurbaran shows a certain tendency toward monochrome. Both his subjects and his coloring are somewhat monotonous, but he is very skilful in his lighting and perspective effects. He painted portraits of the founders of religious orders, the great figures of monastic Spain in his time. They are dressed in loose luminous habits and sit before a desk reading some book of religious mysticism, like the one of Father José de la Madre de Dios. Or again we find them saying mass or performing a miracle, Carthusians or Carmelites, and through a window or between curtains is a view of a monastery or city street, where some miraculous occurrence has taken place (fig. 573).

His draperies are unsurpassed; his St. Casilda (fig. 574), which seems like an actual portrait, gives us an idea of his technique. In the Adoration of the Magi in the palace of San Telmo at Seville, we note that the composition is not very different from Velasquez' treatment of the same theme.

When he was thirty-five years old, Zurbaran was appointed painter to the King, but according to Palomino he did not go to Madrid until about 1650. Even then it was only because Velasquez insisted upon his decorating one of the apartments of the palace of Buen Retiro. Philip IV visited him there while

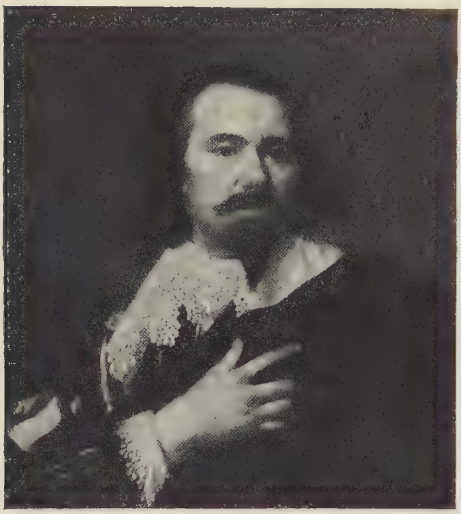


Fig. 576. — Murillo. Portrait of himself. *(Cook Gallery.)* RICHMOND.

he was at work; the subject was the Labors of Hercules. The King was satisfied with his work, and placing a hand upon his shoulder he called him "the painter of the king and king of painters." We must admit that Philip showed excellent taste. But Zurbaran returned to Seville, his adopted city and after his death his widow lived in a house ceded to her by the city council.

Another fellow-pupil from Pacheco's studio was the painter and sculptor, Alonso Cano, whom we have discussed in a previous chapter. Some of his paintings are genuinely beautiful, but Cano was always too disturbed in his style to achieve perfection in his pictorial art (fig. 575).

Murillo was somewhat younger than Cano, Zurbaran and Velasquez. Born at Seville in 1619, he passed his youth in that city painting stereotyped religious pictures, many of which were carried to America. He was already weary of this routine drudgery when the Granada painter, Pedro Moya, passed through Seville on his way back from London, where he had been studying with Van Dyck. The young Murillo listened to his eulogies, looked at the copies he had brought with him and becoming infected with the enthusiasm of the man determined to take his patrimony and go to London to study under such a great master. On the way, however, he stopped off at Madrid, where he was presented by Gongora to Velasquez. This was in 1643 when Murillo was only twenty-five years old and Velasquez was already a famous painter. The young man's visit to the Alcázar at Madrid and the Escorial, with their pictures not only by Van Dyck and Rubens but also by the great Italian masters, was a complete revelation.



Fig. 577. — Murillo. The angels' kitchen. *(Louvre Museum.)* PARIS.

There was evidently no need of going so far, when one could see such marvelous paintings without leaving Spain. Where would he find a friend and fellow-countryman who could initiate him into the secrets of art better than Velasquez? So Murillo spent two years at Madrid, and when he returned to Seville his tastes and style were already formed. In his native city his reputation was soon established, and in 1648 he married Beatriz de Cabrera y Sotomayor, a well-to-do lady of good family from the town of Pilas. From that time on, he hardly left Seville and painted with a loving touch his tender interpretations of the Virgin and Child, the Immaculate Conception and the Holy Family (figs. 576 to 584). This Spanish Correggio worked in darker color and more subdued flesh tones than did the Italian master, but on the other hand he is less constrained and more normal and expressive. When he attempts large compositions, such as the foundation of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome or his St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the result is somewhat monotonous and artificial. But his immortal pictures of the Christ-child are those of genuine Andalusian children; they and his feminine figures of the Immaculate Conception are a delight to the eyes. He finally was commissioned to paint a picture for the Capuchin monastery at Cadiz, a rather ambitious composition. Here he fell from the scaffold and was taken back to Seville where he died of the fractures he sustained. This was in 1682. Murillo's pictures have been judged too severely probably; his pictures are hardly those to suit the tastes of today, when the attention of the stu-



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 578. — Murillo. Children selling fruit. MUNICH.



PHOTO RUIZ VERNACCI

Fig. 579. — Murillo. Holy Family. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 580.— Murillo. The Good Shepherd. *(Prado.)*

dent and lover of art is taken up with El Greco and Velasquez. Nevertheless, in spite of his somewhat academic style and obscure coloring, Murillo was a great artist. He was inspired by love and faith and endowed with a remarkable feeling for what is real in life. Although he is best known for his pictures of the Immaculate Conception, of which he painted more than twenty, his portraits are excellent and nothing could be more charming than his pictures of children selling or eating fruit. These last have made the whole world familiar with the street gamins of Andalusia. Three styles are also distinguished in Murillo. The first was his *frío* or "cold style" which he employed until 1652, his *cálido* or "warm style" between 1652 and 1656, and his *vaporoso* or "vapour style" which lasted until his death. In the last his clear outlines are lost in a mist of light and shadow.

At the capital, in the meantime, Velasquez was succeeded by three painters of second rank. These were Mazo, Carreño and Coello. Mazo copied and repeated the subjects of Velasquez with so little personality of his own that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the pictures of the pupil from those of the master. While the latter was still living, he worked with Mazo who was unusually skilful in making copies. Palomino tells us that he saw copies of Italian pictures by Mazo which were taken for the originals when they were brought to Italy. We can readily see that such a man would have little to do with the development of an artistic school.



PHOTOS. ROIG

Fig. 581. — Murillo. The Immaculate Conception. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

The second painter of this generation, Juan Carreño de Miranda, was a man of noble family, although he was prouder of his art than of his rank. "Painting," he would say, "needs to receive honor from no one, while it has the power to confer honor upon the entire world." Carre-

ño painted many portraits of court personages; his principal work was the fresco on the vault of the church of San Antonio de los Portugueses at Madrid which is still preserved. Although the coloring is excessively delicate, it is most harmonious. But Carreño was a decadent painter as was the third member of this group, Claudio Coello, who painted a number of royal portraits and the large picture of the Sagrada Forma in the sacristy of the Escorial.



Fig. 582.—Murillo. The Infant Christ and the Baptist. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

None of these artists was capable of satisfying Charles II, a degenerate in everything except his artistic taste (fig. 585). This monarch began to bring in Italian painters which completed the discomfiture of the poor Spanish artists, already overshadowed by such personalities as Velasquez, Zurbaran and Murillo. The king commissioned Luca Giordano to continue the decoration of the Escorial; Giordano *fa presto* they called him in Italy. Philip V called in Mengs and a number of French artists as well. For more than a century it may be said that there was no Spanish painting; the only exception was the Catalan Antonio Viladomat. His drawing is excellent, and his compositions are well balanced in an academic way, but his earthy colors are monotonous and oppressive. Although he was employed by Philip V, he was not a court painter. His principal works are still in Catalonia, as he worked almost entirely for the churches and monasteries of Barcelona. In the Prado Museum there is not a single picture by this artist, although he was almost the only Spanish painter during the first half of the Eighteenth Century (fig. 586).



PHOTO PORTUGAL

Fig. 583.—Murillo. Immaculate Conception. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

The miracle of Spanish art was its rude awakening by Goya who wielded a brutal lash among the many imitators of Mengs and the other pseudo-classical pedants. This painter was born in 1746 at Fuendetodos, the son of a country gentle-



Fig. 584.—Murillo. Immaculate Conception.
(Cathedral of Seville.)

man who seems to have also had a home in Saragossa on the Calle de la Morería Cerrada. Here Goya probably passed his youth. He soon showed a talent for painting and became the protégé of both Father Salcedo, the prior of the Carthusian monastery of Aula Dei near Saragossa, and the Count of Fuentes who was lord of Fuendetodos. These two men were always the friends and defenders of Goya during his somewhat stormy career. This was particularly true of Father Salcedo, who more than once helped the painter out of a difficult situation.

Goya's first master was a certain Lujan who had opened a sort of academy in Saragossa of which the Count of Fuentes was a patron. Lujan knew his Europe, and although he was not a genius, his artistic culture was of the best. But the discipline of this strict teacher could not restrain the tendencies of so wild and turbulent a youth as Goya. We have countless stories of his mischievous pranks at this time; he probably was obliged to flee from Saragossa to escape prosecution by the Inquisition for his sneers. He took refuge in Madrid, where he was befriended by his compatriot, Bayeu, and earned his living by working on the decorations of the Royal Palace. But new scandals, some love affair this time, compelled him to leave Madrid wounded by the dagger of a jealous lover and declared a rebel by the judicial authorities.

He returned to Saragossa, sold his house and with the money started for Rome. Here with his Spanish friends he lived a riotous life, alternating study with dissipation, for he won a prize in the Academy of Parma. Nevertheless, he was arrested and condemned to death for attempting to abduct a nun. The Spanish Ambassador succeeded in having his sentence commuted to exile, and he returned again to Saragossa. Here, possibly by the aid of his faithful friend, the prior of Aula Dei, he was employed on the decoration of the Pilar and married the daughter of Bayeu. But Goya and Bayeu were not the men to understand one another or get along together, and quarrels ensued. Goya sought permission of the chapter to paint in his own way, while Bayeu attempted to direct the

decoration of the church in accordance with his own preconceived plan.

The dispute never ceased and the canons finally intervened. Father Salcedo employed Goya to paint the church of his own monastery, but after a time the painter moved to Madrid and a new life began. Goya was simply a member of the Academy of San Fernando and a painter of note, but not the court artist he afterward became. At the death of good King Charles III, who kept his courtiers within the bounds of decency and to whom Goya would hardly have been acceptable, Charles IV came to the throne. No one could be of a temperament less suitable for a monarch, but the change was entirely in Goya's favor. The Queen, of Neapolitan origin, did not even observe the outward forms of respectability; the King, whose character is still a mystery, allowed free rein to the



Fig. 585. — Claudio Coello. Charles II. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 586. — Viladomat. A christening. *(Museo Municipal.)* BARCELONA.



Fig. 587. — Goya. General Urrutia. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

to her estates in Sanlúcar de Barrameda. On the journey the carriage stuck in the mud, and Goya's gallant assistance to the lady resulted in a cold which left him deaf for life. The escapade with the Duchess of Alba lasted two years, and the Queen was finally obliged to commute the exile of the lady to bring Goya back to Madrid.

After this, it appears, the idyl came to an end. In the series of etchings known as Los Caprichos he frequently caricatured the duchess, "a vision of deceit and inconstancy." By this time our painter was no longer a youth, but he did not relax his efforts; indeed, for long years he turned out a prodigious quantity of work. During this Queen, her ladies, Goya and the entire court. Goya painted and made love to the ladies of the court, and they all, even the Queen, seem to have welcomed his advances. But his principal love-affair was with the Duchess of Alba, one of the most famous scandals of the period. This lady was the holder of the title and, like all the rich heiresses, had been brought up in considerable independence. Her husband died young, and she was in a position to do as she pleased. Goya painted her portrait many times, in street costume, in court dress (fig. 591), indolently reclining upon a couch and in the same posture unclothed (figs. 593 and 598).

The scandal finally resulted in the exile of the duchess, but Goya, nothing dismayed, accompanied her

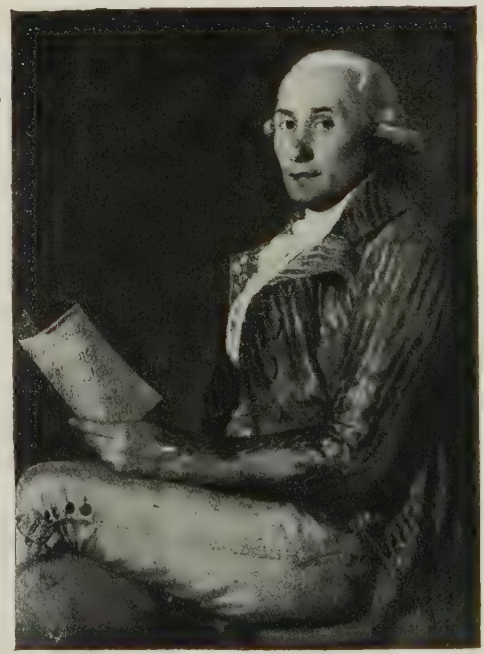


Fig. 588. — Goya. Portrait of Don Sebastián Martínez. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* NEW YORK.

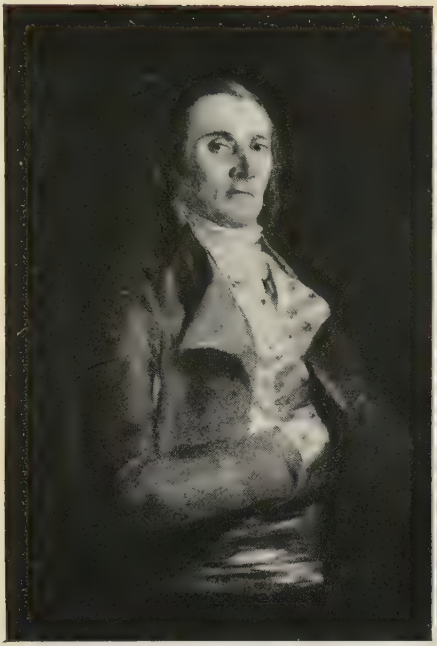
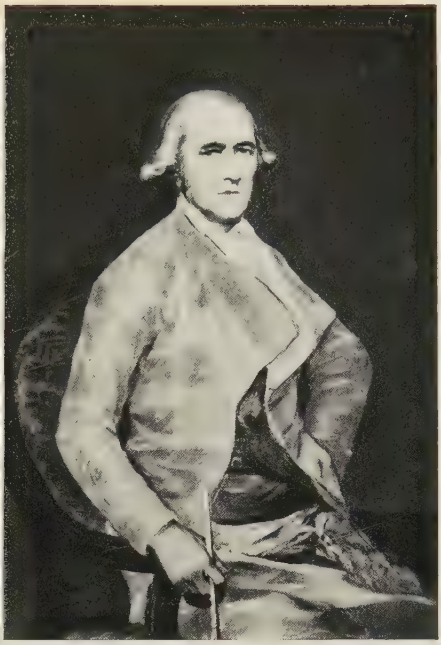


Fig. 589. — Goya. Portrait of Peral.
(National Gallery.) LONDON.



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 590. — Goya. Portrait of Bayeu.
(Prado.) MADRID.



Fig. 591. — Goya. The Duchess of Alba.
(Hispanic Society.) NEW YORK.



Fig. 592. — The actress, La Tirana.
(Academy of San Fernando.)



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 593. — Goya. La Maja vestida. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

period his portraits of men were the more powerful; his religious pictures, like those of the church of San Antonio de la Florida, and his Christ, were successful enough, but his fame does not rest upon the latter.

Finally came the Napoleonic Wars, the French invasion of Spain, the massacre of the Second of May and the crowning of Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain. Goya felt all these events deeply; his emotions are immortalized in



PHOTO ROIG

Fig. 594. — Goya. La Maja desnuda. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



Fig. 595. — Goya. Dos de Mayo (Second of May). *(Prado.)* Madrid.

his pictures in the Prado and his collection of etchings known as "The Disasters of War" (fig. 595).

Upon the return of Ferdinand VII Goya still retained his post as court painter, but he was now an old man. He lived outside Madrid near the church of San Antonio de la Florida in a house decorated with fanciful paintings by himself. It was called by the people La Huerta del Sordo (fig. 596). His rather difficult disposition was hardly compatible with his position under a tyrant like



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 596. — Goya. Decoration of his home. *(Prado.)* Madrid.



Fig. 597.—Goya. The Infante Don Carlos María.
(Prado.) MADRID.



Fig. 598.—Doña Isabel Porcel.
(National Gallery.) LONDON.

Ferdinand VII, and he finally obtained permission to retire to Bordeaux for his health. Here he joined Moratín, Silvela and a number of others in exile and died in April, 1828.

Summary.— Alphonso Berruguete is considered to be the first Spanish painter of the Renaissance. He lived in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and is known especially for the altar-piece from Avila now in the Prado Museum. Charles V did little to encourage painting in Spain and employed foreign artists. Philip II called in Antonio Moro who was the teacher of Pantoja and Sánchez Coello. El Greco and Morales also worked for Philip II. El Greco was a native of Crete who worked in Venice and Rome before coming to Toledo where most of his work was done. El Greco was followed by a pupil named Tristan and his son who imitated the master's style. In the meantime an artistic school was growing up in Seville of which Montañés and Pacheco were the most prominent figures. Velasquez was trained under these men and went to Madrid at an early age where he was appointed court painter and gentleman-usher at the palace by Philip IV. Married to Pacheco's daughter Velasquez continued to paint at Madrid, his work being interrupted only when he accompanied the King to other parts of Spain and on the occasions of two journeys to Italy. Velasquez' work is that of a great painter; in his pictures he immortalized his time and the world about him without attempting to idealize or embellish it. He was influenced somewhat by Ribera who had moved to Naples and whose pictures were popular in Spain. Velasquez made Ribera's acquaintance when he was in Naples. Zurbaran and Murillo were the contemporaries of Velasquez. The former was noted for his good drawing, and as a decorator; the light effects in his pictures are remarkable. Murillo, like Velasquez, was a Sevillan; he painted the Virgin and Child, the Immaculate Conception and pictures of angels which are noted for the tender manner in which he interprets these subjects. After the time of Velasquez we find only second rate artists such as Mazo, Carreño and Claudio Coello. Only Viladomat appeared in Catalonia as a prophecy of the astounding shock which Goya was to give to the art of Spain, with his impetuous and independent genius.

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Fig. 599.—Inigo Jones. Banqueting Hall. London.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BAROQUE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND, HOLLAND, SCANDINAVIA, GERMANY AND RUSSIA. DUTCH PAINTING. FRANS HALS, REMBRANDT, VAN DYCK AND RUBENS.

The Renaissance was late in coming to England, and even then people were slow to accept it. In the Seventeenth Century public buildings were still being constructed in a pure Gothic style, and in private residences Gothic forms are employed to this very day. Indeed, some Gothic details have continued in use uninterruptedly from the Middle Ages down to the present time. But our purpose here is not to trace the survival of old forms, but the introduction of new ones into England. During the reign of Henry VIII, this monarch, who desired to eclipse all the others in Europe, heartily welcomed the foreign artists who came to England, and we begin to find Italian and German sculptors and wood-carvers. These new influences had a softening and humanizing effect upon the English Gothic. We note at the same time the influences of the Renaissance in the Low Countries. The Royal Exchange at London was the work of an architect from Antwerp by the name of Pas, or Paschen, but it has since been destroyed by a fire. Prior to the time of Henry VIII civil architecture possessed more or less the character of a stronghold; but after the Wars of the Roses the



Fig. 600. — Christopher Wren. St. Paul's Cathedral. London.

residences of the nobilility were constructed in a more practical and artistic fashion. Most of these had a large gallery which came to take the place of the modern living room and occupied one entire side of the court.

Toward the end of the Sixteenth Century appeared the first great English architect, the famous Inigo Jones, whose life and works have been studied with the respect due to the founder of a new style. Jones was born in 1573 and did not die until 1651. He was apprenticed to a joiner, but enlisting the aid of the Earl of Arundel he studied and worked in Italy, where he achieved such a reputation that he was called to Denmark. He followed chiefly the style of Palladio, whose treatise he is said to have always carried with him. He returned to England and obtained an official position, and in 1612 made a second journey to Italy, where he remained for some time. Returning to England he was appointed surveyor-general of public works by James I. His fame as a connoisseur of art, particularly ancient architecture, was now generally recognized by the King and the

court. In 1618 a fire destroyed the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, and Jones was commissioned to rebuild this palace on a very ambitious scale. If the entire plan had been executed, it would have been the largest royal palace in Europe. As a matter of fact, only the present Banqueting Hall in Whitehall was completed. Inigo Jones did not construct many buildings; we know but few of his authentic works. But these are all in the Renaissance style. There was no longer any hesitation, and although Inigo Jones did not, perhaps, produce any great inspired work, his successors followed the path marked out by this apostle of the Italian Renaissance. Both English and American architects have remained faithful to Palladio down to our own times (fig. 599).



Fig. 601.- Christopher Wren. Tower of St. Bride's. London.



Fig. 602.- Christopher Wren. Tower of St. Mary-le-Bow. London.

Jones was succeeded by his pupil and assistant, John Webb, who was an enthusiastic follower of his master. This man forms the connecting link between Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, the builder of St. Paul's cathedral and by far the greatest English architect of the Italian school. Wren was born in 1632. His father was a clergyman and he received a classical education at Oxford. His favorite studies were mathematics and astronomy; indeed, he became professor of astronomy at Oxford. He turned to architecture, however, and in 1665 went to France for six months, where he spent his time making sketches. As we have already noted in a previous chapter, the French architects of this time, men like Perrault and Mansart, were superior to those of Italy.

The great Fire of London in 1666 gave Wren a remarkable field for action. Classical London, the London of "the City" may be said to be the work of Wren. He had been appointed crown surveyor, and as such he laid out new streets in the ruined city on which he located his public buildings, such as the Royal Exchange, the Custom House, and numerous others as well as the new St. Paul's cathedral on the



Fig. 603.—Mauritshuis. The Hague.

site of the old Gothic structure which had been gutted by the fire. This last edifice was begun in 1675. Here, as in St. Peter's at Rome, the principal feature is a great dome over the crossing supported by the nave, aisles and transepts which are in the form of a Latin cross. St. Paul's is not as great as the Roman basilica, nor has it the same historical importance, but it possesses a greater unity of style. It was planned by Wren in all its details which were afterward carried out by his son who succeeded him in the direction of the work. It is a rather cold monument; the gray Portland stone of which it is built gives it a very English appearance. The windows, balustrades and its division into two orders make of it a graceful and harmonious whole, although Wren, the famous mathematician, was more noted as a practical builder than as artistic designer. The silhouette of the dome recalls some of the French churches, especially the Panthéon of which it is an amplification. Wren was never in Italy, and his architectural career grew out of his six months stay in France when he was a young man. There is



Fig. 604.—Delft Gate. Rotterdam.



German baroque style. Hall of the royal palace of Linderhof, decorated with paintings and Gobelin tapestries.

an external dome, independent of the inner one, resting upon a cylindrical drum which is surrounded by a gallery of columns. On the façade are two towers characteristic of Wren's style which flank a portico of two stories surmounted by a pediment (fig. 600).

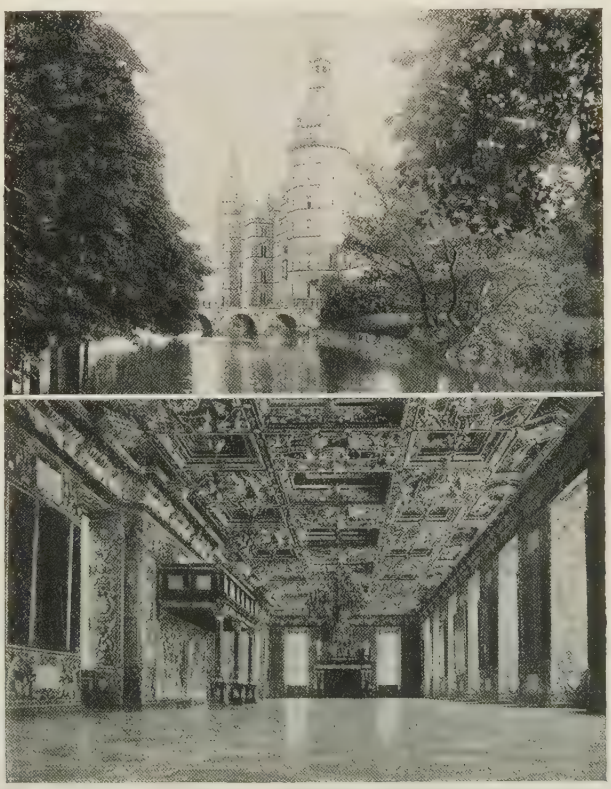


Fig. 605. — Castle at Elsinore. DENMARK.

The English Parliament ordered Wren to make plans for the rebuilding of some fifty churches which were destroyed by the great fire. Here we find invariably the correctness of design characteristic of this master who is still greatly admired by the English people. In nearly all there are towers of several stories which grow smaller as they rise and are topped by the graceful spires so typical of the sky-line of the old city (figs. 601 and 602).

Wren's activity was amazing. While he was building St. Paul's and a number of other structures in London, he also supervised the Hospital at Greenwich, the library of Trinity College at Cambridge, and furnished sketches and detailed plans for everything.

After Wren's death his pupils, Gibbs, Kent and Campbell, followed the lines laid out by him in their construction of the many fine English manors with their spacious parks. This continued until the neoclassical revival was introduced into England by the Adams brothers



Figs. 606 and 607. — Frederiksborg Palace. DENMARK.

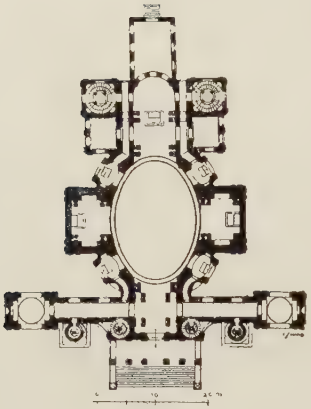


Fig. 608.—Plan of the Karlskirche. VIENNA.

of whom we shall speak opportunely in another chapter.

In the Low Countries the Renaissance, which had arrived early in the Sixteenth Century, participated with enthusiasm in the baroque innovations. Typical examples of this are seen in the Eglise du Béguinage in Brussels, the Jesuit Church at Antwerp and that of St. Pierre in Ghent.

In Holland the traditional classical forms persisted. The famous Mauritshuis in the Hague shows few symptoms of the baroque (fig. 603). Certain details of the sculpture and the pediment show clearly that it was erected during the first half of the Seventeenth Century.

In Denmark we find native architects and a number of foreigners as well spreading the new Renaissance forms. Sometimes Italian models are suggested, as in the so-called "marble church" whose cupola is in imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. Again, we are reminded of the German Renaissance, as in the castle at Elsinore (fig. 605) and the former royal summer palace of Frederiksborg. The latter is the most important example of baroque architecture in Denmark. It was commenced in the time of Charles VI and can only be said



Fig. 609.—Karlskirche, VIENNA.

to have been completed a few years ago (figs. 606 and 607). An Academy of Fine Arts, in imitation of the French institution, was founded in Copenhagen in 1755.



Fig. 610. — Linderhof. Upper Bavaria.

In Central Europe, particularly in Austria and Bavaria which remained faithful to the Roman Curia during the Reformation, we find an enthusiastic reception given to the baroque style. As in Spain, it went to even greater extremes in these countries than in Italy.

In Austria and Bavaria this was not merely a servile imitation of the Italian baroque. As in Spain, it was the official style of the Jesuit Order which was very strong in these countries, and nowhere can it be studied in its more pleasing phases to better advantage. It is a pity that we cannot give more space to the innumerable Jesuit and Premonstratensian churches of this region and to the old monasteries and collegiate churches of Hungary which were rebuilt with their abbots' palaces and hospices and covered with cornucopias, cherubs and rocailles. An excellent example is the Karlskirche at Vienna which was built about 1720



Fig. 611. — Royal Palace at Potsdam. Prussia.



Fig. 612. — Church of St. Andrew the Apostle. *Kiev.* Russia.

in the Austrian baroque style. Here is an interesting combination of classical forms, a singular *pasticcio* of cupolas, towers and commemorative columns (like Trajan's Column at Rome), a monument to the magnificent and stately ceremonies of those days (figs. 608 and 609). Independent princes and absolute monarchs still held sway who built large palaces to suit themselves with little heed to the expense. There is the Belvedere at Vienna, the palace of the Duke of Baden at Carlsruhe, that of the kings of Saxony at Dresden and the royal palace of the kings of Prussia at Potsdam (fig. 611), to say nothing of the countless summer palaces in the most picturesque districts of Germany, Austria and Hungary (fig. 610 and Plate XLIII).

In Russia we see repeated the same phenomena which occurred in the first days of the Renaissance. Foreign artists came into the country, especially Italians and Frenchmen, but the semi-Asiatic Russian population soon innoculated them with the tastes of the country. The Kremlin, which is thoroughly Oriental in character, was the work of Italian architects, and now the Europeans called in by Peter the Great produced a hybrid art that was half Russian and half Italian. An Italian by the name of Carlo Rastrelli built the Smolny Institute at Petrograd which is a characteristic example of this confusion with its bulb-like cupolas and classical towers. The same is true of the church of St. Andrew the Apostle at Kiev (fig. 612) and many others in Russia which date from the same period. The palaces of the Czars could not but reflect the baroque and Oriental natures of their Imperial owners; nevertheless, the architect



Fig. 613. — Gardens of the palace at Peterhof. Russia.



Unknown Flemish Master. The Cavalier dressed in red.
(Pinakothek of Munich.)

of Peterhof was a Frenchman by the name of Leblond, and Rastrelli's son built the enormous palace of Tsárskoye Seló.

During the same period national schools of painting and sculpture grew up in every country of Europe, and in many of them we find a great artist who has returned home from Italy or France saturated with the new spirit which he had absorbed in these countries. But it seems preferable to outline in broad strokes the outstanding artistic movements rather than confuse the reader with a multitude of local occurrences. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the Dutch and Flemish schools of painting, the only ones which produced artists of outstanding genius, men like Rembrandt and Rubens. These schools, of course, have their antecedents; Quintin Matsys derived his art from Jan van Eyck and passed it on in turn to Frans Hals and Rembrandt.



Fig. 614. — Matsys. Portrait.
(Uffizi Gallery.) FLORENCE.



Fig. 615. — Matsys. Portrait.
(Metropolitan Museum.) NEW YORK.

The truth is that at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century the old art centres, such as Ghent, Brussels and Bruges, had lost their former importance. Matsys, although he was a native of Louvain, worked chiefly in Antwerp. When Dürer came to this city, he hastened to pay his respects to Matsys. As a matter of fact Matsys was the connecting link between two great periods of painting. He was still capable of the strong religious feeling of the great Flemish masters, Van Eyck and Van der Weyden, and yet the breath of humanism had touched him. He could view beauty with the freedom of a modern. In his religious pictures Matsys still represented the great mediaeval art of Flanders, but in his portraits he was a Renaissance artist (figs. 614 and 615). The Flemish painters who



Fig. 616. Antonio Moro. Portrait of a women. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

followed him were influenced more and more by the Italians; many of these men had been in Italy and had returned filled with enthusiasm for Michelangelo, the Caracci and Caravaggio. (Plate XLIV.) There is no need to dwell upon their imitations of the pictures they admired, but among these painters several important personalities stand out. The first was Antonio Moro, a roving portrait-painter who spent much of his life in Spain and England (figure 616), though he had been born in Holland. Pourbus was another Dutch artist who achieved a career at the court of the Valois in France. Finally we come to Frans Hals, the greatest master of the Haarlem school. This city was a new centre of painting further to the north, in Holland. Hals is famous for his portraits, where we find a feeling of optimism revealed in every detail. (Plate XLV.) The picture of the so-called Laughing Cavalier in the Collection of Wallace is the most widely reproduced and universally esteemed of these (fig. 617). But we have only to visit the galleries of Amsterdam and the Hague to see the powerful genius of this artist. In his groups of military organizations and guild members we find the same themes which Rembrandt was later to develope to a still higher degree.



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 617. — Frans Hals. Laughing Cavalier. *(Wallace Collection.)* LONDON.

In the field of painting Rembrandt was the greatest genius of the Low Countries. He was a modern in every respect, and at the same time romantic and sincere, a veritable Rousseau of painting. His pictures are so numerous and his feeling for life so profound that it is impossible to cover the biography of this extraordinary artist in a few brief paragraphs (figs. 618 and 619).

Rembrandt was born in Leyden in 1607, the son of a well-to-do miller who lived on the bank of the Rhine. His name, Rembrandt van Rijn, may be connected with that fact. His first work was done in Leyden, though he had



Frans Hals. Nurse with child. *(Kaiser Friedrich Museum.)* BERLIN.



Figs. 618 and 619. — Rembrandt. Portraits of himself. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

studied with Lastman of Amsterdam, but he was only twenty-five when he went back to the larger city, which was a wealthy commercial centre of international importance. Here Rembrandt painted portraits and other pictures for the rich merchants and other burghers (figs. 620, 621 and 622). He became almost at once the first painter of Amsterdam and at the age of twenty-eight he married Saskia van Uylenborch, a girl of some means. Until she died she was the centre of his life. The painter has left us many portraits of her; she was a fair-haired woman of unusual beauty with her radiant smile and fresh youth. Rembrandt never wearied of painting or drawing her. It seems as though he had only to put pencil to paper to produce the profile of the woman he loved. Happy and well paid for his work, he loved to dress his wife in handsome fabrics and a large hat; in one well known picture we see Saskia in a beautiful gown and with jewels in her hair, while the painter offers her



Fig. 620. — Rembrandt. Portrait of a rabbi. *(Museum of The Hague.)*



Fig. 621.—Rembrandt. A burgomaster.
(National Gallery.) LONDON.

a pearl necklace, perhaps a gift for the occasion. The most famous of these is the one in the Dresden Gallery in which Rembrandt, gaily dressed, holds his wife on his knee. One hand is on her waist, while with the other he raises a glass of Rhine wine, as though drinking to their happiness. (Plate XLVI.) But after little more than seven years Saskia died leaving him a son, Titus, for whose care he engaged Hendrickje, a woman of humble origin, who finally took the place of the lovely Saskia at the hearth if not in the heart of the painter. His nude picture of Bathsheba (fig. 624) appears to be really a portrait of this Hendrickje who had shortly before given him a daughter.

Rembrandt's art was ever his consolation and his refuge from the cares of life, and he never wearied of his painting and etching. The latter especially brought him in large sums of money which he spent in acquiring art treasures. He filled his home with masterpieces of Flemish and Italian painting, casts of the Laocöon, busts of Roman emperors and curiosities for which he paid exorbitant prices. He also possessed tapestries, rare fabrics, collections of arms and musical instruments and many engravings, but he had few books; the Bible, naturally, and Dürer's treatise on the proportions of the human body.

This inventory of Rembrandt's treasures has its sad associations, for misfortunes obliged him to sell them all for the benefit of his creditors at last. His fortune and part of Saskia's had been spent in his mania for collecting. Deprived of his house and the pictures and engravings which he prized so highly,



Fig. 622.—Rembrandt. A burgomaster.
(Museum of The Hague.)

he was obliged to live in a cheap rural inn, where he continued his painting and etching. He even outlived Hendrickje and his son. But down to the time of his death in 1669 Rembrandt was always the great artist as in the days of his happy and prosperous youth (fig. 625).

His life story seems rather ordinary and monotonous, for Rembrandt never moved except for the change from Leyden to Amsterdam, and it would have little interest for us, if it were not for the pictures and etchings of this artist. From his Dutch window the man contemplated the world with a penetrating gaze which still compels our admiration.



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 623. — Rembrandt. Christ and the Adultress. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

Centuries have passed, and new schools of painting have come and gone in which the study of light and atmosphere has been the chief object. But Rembrandt is still the incomparable master. Where Velasquez attacked this problem with color, Rembrandt accomplished his aim by the use of light and shade.

Unlike Velasquez, however, Rembrandt did not care for natural light, but he created an atmosphere of his own, as did El Greco. The air seems filled with luminous atoms; it receives a certain density, if we can call it that, from the light itself. Even in the shadows we see the gleam of the light brown particles of pigment. Rembrandt's compositions can remain in the shadow. Where the rays of light penetrate, everything is bathed in gold; the color floats in the air as though by magic. Besides his individual portraits, he painted groups for the various corporations of the city. The first and most famous of the latter was executed in his youth; it is the so-called Lesson in Anatomy. Here, at the order of the surgeon's organization, he represented Tulp, the anatomist, dissecting a human body before seven of his Amsterdam associates. The picture remained in the Hall of the Surgeons until 1818, when William I of Holland purchased it for 32,000 florins, and it became the property of the Museum of the Hague.

Much later Rembrandt painted the picture so long known as The Night Watch, but it is now called The Sortie of the Banning Cock Company. Here is a company of arquebusiers coming out of their guild-house. The group is lacking in material unity; the figures are arranged in anything but an orderly fashion.



Fig. 624.—Rembrandt. Bathsheba. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

And yet there is the greatest unity of artistic feeling, and every one of the personages is marvelously portrayed (fig. 626). Later still, in his old age, Rembrandt painted another masterpiece, a portrait group of the Syndics of the Cloth Hall of Amsterdam (fig. 627). We see them assembled in their office; centuries have passed and mankind may change, but these men with their sober garments and hats remain an undying memorial of life in Rembrandt's time.

Space does not permit our describing each of the great works of Rembrandt. We have cited only a few of the best known, such as the portraits of the painter and Saskia, the Lesson in Anatomy, the Night Watch and the Syndics of the Cloth Hall. But he also displays his incomparable knowledge of the human form in the religious pictures he painted for the different corporations and princes. He worked incessantly; for every picture he made endless preliminary sketches and etchings. Even in his etchings, of which he made a very large number, he would often make a preliminary copy and then alter the plate or make another one.



Rembrandt and his wife. *(Dresden Gallery.)*



HOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 625. — Rembrandt. Danae. *(Hermitage.)* PETROGRAD.

He was not, like Dürer and Leonardo, a methodical and conscientious student. He did not bother his head with the theoretical laws of beauty, nor did he write treatises and histories of art. He simply painted, drew and etched, enveloped in the light of his visions, in that atmosphere filled with golden atoms. He left no successor to go on with his work, for no one could inherit his vision.

Before we begin to study the personality of Rubens, the greatest painter of the baroque period, it might be well to dwell for a moment on that of Van Dyck. The latter began as a pupil of Rubens, although he never went to the same extremes. Van Dyck was born at Antwerp in 1599, the son of a well-to-do merchant. An agent of the Earl of Arundel writes that he lived with Rubens and that his work was beginning to be esteemed as highly as that of his master. This narrative goes on to say that at the time it was written he was only twenty years old and the son of a rich family, which made it difficult for him to leave Antwerp, especially in view of the fortune which Rubens was earning with his brush. Nevertheless, in 1620 Van Dyck made his first journey to England, engaged by the Crown to work for a salary of one hundred pounds a year. This first stay in England was not a long one. The painter returned to Antwerp, but only to take leave of Rubens and depart for Italy, where he was to remain for some time.



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 626. — Rembrandt. The Night Watch (The Sortie of the Banning Cock Company). *(Rijks Museum.)* AMSTERDAM.

Conscious of the value of his work, he presented his master with three of his pictures. In return, Rubens gave Van Dyck an Andalusian horse which he prized highly on which to make the journey. He stayed in Italy for two years and during that time painted a large number of portraits and other pictures. At Rome



Fig. 627. — Rembrandt. The Syndics of the Cloth Hall. *(Rijks Museum.)* AMSTERDAM.

he was noted for his elegant bearing and distinguished manners which were in marked contrast with those of the other foreign painters of the baroque period. The latter were a convivial and dissipated crowd who jeered at the gloves, horse and servants of the "gentleman painter" who, when he was not working, moved in the best social circles. In the meantime he conscientiously studied the great Venetian masters and thereby daily acquired a loftier style and a richer and more brillant coloring.



Fig. 628.— Van Dyck. The painter and his friend Endymion Porter. *(Prado.)* MADRID.



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 629.- Van Dyck. St. Sebastian. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*

Returning to the Low Countries he established himself in Antwerp, where he executed commissions from various cities and countries for several years. In 1632 Van Dyck went again to London, this time to be appointed court painter by Charles I. This elegant and knightly monarch could not but be pleased with Van Dyck who stood preeminent as a painter of aristocracy and distinction. The King assigned him a handsome salary and placed at his disposal a city residence and a home in the country down in Kent. Later he knighted the painter; indeed, Charles never ceased to display his affection and respect for the artist who immortal-



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 630. — Van Dyck. Thomas Carey and Thomas Killigrew. *(Windsor Gallery.)*

ized his court. Van Dyck married Lady Mary Ruthven, a match arranged by the King who hoped in this way to turn the painter from his rather dissipated manner of living. In return for all these favors Van Dyck painted marvelous portraits of King Charles. The most famous of these is in the Louvre; here the King, who has just dismounted from his horse, turns toward the beholder with an indefinable glance and an attitude that could be caught by none but a great artist. Van Dyck also painted many portraits of the royal princes which their father sent to the other European courts. We also have from his hand pictures of the Queen and of the members of the English aristocracy with whom the painter always maintained the most cordial relations. (Plate XLVII.) One of the latter, now in the Prado at Madrid, represents the painter himself dressed in black together with his friend, Endymion Porter, the gentleman of the King's bedchamber who had presented Van Dyck to the King (fig. 628). In the Royal Collection at Windsor we also see two members of the English aristocracy, connoisseurs of art and antiquities (fig. 630). But in Van Dyck we find again an example of that fatal propensity to attempt to exceed ones natural limitations. The great portrait-painter proposed to the King that he decorate the banqueting-room at Whitehall with a series of pictures illustrating the history of the order of



Van Dyck. Portrait of Wife of Sebastian Leers. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*

the Garter. But Charles I was now having political difficulties and lacked funds, so he was unable to carry out the project. In his disappointment Van Dyck returned to Antwerp and went on to Paris with the idea of obtaining a commission from the king of France. Here he fell ill. He returned to London where he soon died and was buried in the old cathedral of St. Paul's.



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 631.—Van Dyck. Prince William of Orange with his betrothed princess Mary Stuart. *(Rijks Museum).* AMSTERDAM.

Of Flemish origin and educated in Italy, this painter seemed destined to be best understood and appreciated by the English. That which was finest and most esthetic in England appears on his canvases. The colors are harmonious and restrained. Here we do not find that radiant and voluptuous scale of tones which Titian employed. And yet his coloring is delicate and finished without being monotonous. Some of his portraits have a subtle and piquant hauteur that is most charming (fig. 629). The English were somewhat slow to appreciate the naturalism of Rembrandt, but they were at once enamored of the serene and methodical Van Dyck. This artist will never, perhaps, arouse a passionate enthusiam, nor will he have detractors and enemies.

Rubens, the other great Flemish master, on the other hand has suffered the severest criticism in spite of his exceptional attainments. He was born in 1578 in Germany where his father was exiled for his religious opinions. But the family returned to Antwerp, and here the painter spent the greater part of his life. He was educated in this city and learned the eight languages that were to be of such use to him in later life. Flemish, Dutch and German were natural to him; he wrote well in Latin; and he acquired a good command of French, Spanish, English and Italian. His letters he wrote in Italian. In 1598, when he was only twenty years old, he was admitted to the painters' guild of Antwerp. The first of his journeys to Italy was in 1600, when he visited Venice; later he went to Mantua and Genoa. He became the protégé of the Duke of Mantua, and for some years



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 632. — Rubens. The painter and his first wife Isabella Brant. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*

not only the painter, but also the friend and confident of his patron. In 1603 the duke sent Rubens to Spain on a secret mission to Philip III and the latter's minister, the Duke de Lerma. At Genoa he was profoundly impressed, perhaps for the first time, by the artistic value of architecture. The great palaces of Galeazzo Alessi, already semibaroque, filled him with enthusiasm, and he collaborated with another Fleming in the preparation of a collection of sketches called Palazzi di Genova, published in Antwerp in 1613 and 1622.

In 1608 the death of his mother brought Rubens back to Antwerp. His reputation was already such that the archduke, Albrecht, who was governor of the Low Countries, engaged him to paint his portrait and appointed him court painter with a stipend of 500 livres annually. Although Rubens continued to travel incessantly, we may say that from this time on his home was at Antwerp. Here he married his first wife, Isabella Brant, a tall graceful woman who was rather dark and very different from the Flemish type of feminine beauty which his brush has made immortal. Indeed, in most of Rubens' pictures his ideal seems to be a youthful plump woman with golden hair.

Many years later, however, five years after the death of Isabella Brant, the artist contracted a second marriage. He was now fifty-five years old, rich and famous. This time he married his artistic ideal, a girl of sixteen who was both plump and blond. Rubens was very proud of her and painted her portrait a number of times. Her name was Helena Fourment, and judging from her husband's pictures she was more a type of feminine beauty than a person of individuality. Just as Titian had been enamored of the soft graceful curves of the classical feminine type, Rubens, the great baroque master, was to immortalize a new ideal.

His was an exuberant type, one that we cannot characterize as other than voluptuous (fig. 634 and 635). Rubens gives us not only the portrait of his beloved wife; he also portrays his happiness in his handsome Antwerp home with its pictures and statues and the garden with its fountains where he strolled with his young wife.

Rubens lived intensely. In addition to his enormous artistic production he played an able part in what he called "the great work," namely the reestablishment of peace between England and Spain. As a Spanish subject, for Antwerp was at that time under the Spanish Crown, Rubens intrigued, travelled on secret missions, and made repeated journeys to Spain and England. As a famous artist and a thorough cosmopolitan he was able to travel through countries hostile to his king without awakening suspicion. He was a faithful friend of Philip V and the Spanish nobility, but he also had good friends in England, such as Sir Dudley Carleton, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Buckingham. He had already come into personal contact with Carleton when he negotiated the exchange of some of his pictures for a collection of marbles which the English nobleman had at the Hague. When Rubens died he left a house full of art treasures. He had more than three hundred paintings, among them nine Titians, five Veroneses and six Tintorettos, to say nothing of fifty primitives, a Dürer and a number of pictures by Van Eyck, Lucas van Leyden and Holbein. In the catalogue of the sale, which brought 280,000 florins, we also find pictures by Van Dyck and himself enumerated. The sale was attended by the agents of all the great art collectors of Europe, among them Richelieu, the German Emperor and the King of Poland; but the gems of the collection, more than forty paintings in all, were purchased by King Philip IV of Spain.



Fig. 633. — Rubens. Crucifixion.
(Pinakothek of Munich.)

In addition to the art treasures in his home, Rubens left a large fortune; he was not, like Rembrandt, an impractical collector, but an intelligent connoisseur



PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 634. — Rubens. Helena Fourment. *(Museum of Vienna.)*

his century. He always rose at five in the morning and went to early Mass. Then he would return to his studio where he would paint muscles, palpitating tissues and flying draperies until dusk, when he invariably went for a long horseback ride. In the evening he received his friends. Some may consider the praise lavished upon him in these pages an affectation, for it is true that most of the modern critics consider him superficial and call him an abominable colorist. Nevertheless, he is the outstanding figure of the baroque period. Italy produced Bernini, but never a painter like Rubens with a thorough knowledge of the worldly value of beautiful things. Then, too, he had always possessed abundant means; he priced his labor at the rate of a hundred florins a day, and even this charge did not keep him from being overwhelmed with orders with which he could never keep up. He turned out an enormous quantity of work; more than four thousand pictures figure in the catalogues as his or his pupils', but the master at least retouched them all. Many of them are large compositions containing many figures; some are religious subjects (fig. 633) and others are pagan themes (fig. 636). Rubens knew his classical mythology and was well versed in the writings of the ancient authors. When he painted he often had his favorite classics read aloud to him. Seneca, Livy and Plutarch were like inspiring music to his ears. Whether we like his work or not, the man himself is one of the most interesting figures of



PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 635. — Rubens. Susanna Fourment, his sister-in-law. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.



Rubens. Rape of the daughters of Leucippus. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*



Fig. 636. — Rubens. Children with fruit garland. *(Pinakothek of Munich.)*

who was the spirit of the time personified. Although his coloring is not as rich and vivid as that of Titian and the other Italian masters, he was a skilful decorator. His great historical compositions like the Maria de' Medici series are indeed the happy realization of a decorative ideal. We may criticize a certain monotony in Rubens' feminine types and his flagrantly superficial coloring, but, as Delacroix has observed, "Rubens worked without precipitating himself into the infinite in search of perfection. His sublime ideas are expressed in forms which the superficial person finds monotonous... but the monotony is an agreeable one permeated with the secrets of art."

It is with regret that we must pass on with only the bare mention of the other Dutch and Flemish masters; landscapists like Ruysdael, animal-painters like Snyders, great humorists like Teniers and portrait-painters like Wouwerman and Sustermans (fig. 637).

In addition to their portraits and their novel treatment of light and of the human form, these Northern European schools, Dutch and Flemish alike, have given us an illuminating picture of the home interiors and every-day life of their time. Furthermore, to them the landscape ceased to be an accessory



Fig. 637. — Sustermans. Prince Christian of Denmark. *(Pitti Palace.)* FLORENCE.



Fig. 638.—J. Vermeer van Delft. View of the City of Delft. *(The Hague Museum.)*

and became an end in itself, to be treated as a spiritual entity without regard to man.

True, the painting of home interiors and unassuming domestic scenes had its precedents in the work of the great Flemish painters of the Fifteenth Century. Take, for example, van Eyck's portrait of the merchant, Arnolfini, and his wife in their bridal chamber, with the slippers on the floor, the mirror reflecting the other side of the room, and the faithful dog. This surely is an anticipation of the work of Steen, Hooch, Ter Borch, Vermeer and many other Dutch painters of the Seventeenth Century. The main difference is that the latter became specialists in their art. Unmindful of everything else, they no longer painted religious or mythological scenes, but confined themselves to their Dutch interior, with their gleaming tiles, polished furniture and bright Oriental rugs. A map hanging on the wall reminds us that this was an age of voyage and discovery. We see an open cupboard, rugs, jars for flowers or wine and the plump red-cheeked girl who kept everything in such immaculate order, while the light streams in through high windows with leaded panes.

Sometimes we find a group assembled at the table eating or drinking; a favorite subject is a music-lesson on the harpsichord or guitar. Again, we see new arrivals from the Orient counting gold or weighing pearls. In the company of his bedecked wife or sweetheart, the returned traveller forgets the wide seas, the odors of the ports and the tropical forest. Here in these Dutch interiors is the atmosphere of the calm, opulent and fertile home-land, and the middle-class homes reflect the complacency of their owners.

The same is true of their landscapes. Here are no lofty visions of mysterious rock and mountain, such as we encounter in the backgrounds of Leonardo, Na-



Gerard Ter Borch. The music lesson. *(The Art Institute of Chicago.)*

cailles. In Denmark we find German baroque decoration in the royal palace of Frederiksborg. In Central Europe, particularly in Austria and Bavaria, the baroque was so popular that it became the national style of these countries. The finest German palaces and castles of the period are the Belvedere at Vienna, the palaces at Weimar, Carlsruhe, Potsdam and Charlottenburg and the many royal country seats. Even in Russia the influence of the baroque style was felt. French and Italian architects were employed in this country, but they were all affected by the semioriental spirit of the Russian nation.

The baroque period was the golden age of Flemish and Dutch painting. The greatest Dutch master was Rembrandt who painted his marvelous portraits at Amsterdam. In his pictures we find a certain density in the light which breaks upon his figures; indeed he is famous for his lighting effects. The great Flemish masters were Van Dyck and Rubens. The former was the latter's pupil and passed the greater part of his life in England where he painted portraits. He was the painter of aristocracy par excellence. Rubens was the outstanding painter of the baroque. He was a man of unusual culture, a skilful diplomat and a rich collector as well as being a painter of distinction. He is famous for his pictures of the nude and his treatment of drapery. As a decorator he is worthy of the highest praise, as we see from his pictures of Maria de' Medici, now in the Louvre.

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Fig. 640. — Peter van Hooch. Company.



Fig. 641. — The Petit Trianon. Versailles.

CHAPTER XIX

FRENCH ARCHITECTURE UNDER LOUIS XVI AND THE EMPIRE. — THE NEOCLASSICAL REACTION IN ENGLAND, SPAIN AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. SCULPTURE: CANOVA AND THORWALDSEN. NEOCLASSICAL PAINTING IN FRANCE: DAVID, VIGEE-LEBRUN. THE ENGLISH SCHOOL: REYNOLDS, GAINSBOROUGH, ROMNEY AND LAWRENCE.

About the middle of the Eighteenth Century Europe became weary of the baroque. Indeed, the reaction began simultaneously in a number of places. Various causes contributed to a new and sincere enthusiasm for classical forms. The first of these was a more exact knowledge of ancient times. In 1719 the ruins of Herculaneum were discovered, although they were covered with lava which made excavation most difficult. But when the excavation of Pompeii began in 1748, this city which was buried in volcanic ash revealed innumerable unsuspected facts concerning the art and daily life of the ancients. About the same time Greece was discovered, archaeologically speaking. In 1751 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett went to Greece with a view of exploring the ancient monuments of the country. They remained there five years, and in 1762 the first volume of Antiquities of Athens appeared, a book which is still an object of study. The drawings of Stuart and Revett aroused much enthusiasm in England; among the subscribers we find the painter, Reynolds, the actor, Garrick, and



Fig. 642.—Library. Versailles.

many builders and architects whose desire to study the designs was due to more than mere curiosity. About the same time Winckelmann published his History of Ancient Art and Lessing, his Laocoön. These criticisms and drawings revealed the fact that the art of ancient times was something freer and more alive than people had been led to believe from the rules of Vitruvius and the treatise-writers of the Renaissance. The orders of Vitruvius, which the Renaissance architects thought they recognized in the Roman monuments, proved to be little more than a set of theories. The Greek remains themselves contradicted them, the new Greece rediscovered by Stuart and Revett. What a surprise it all was! In every monument they found a freedom and variety hitherto unsuspected. Even the Parthenon disregarded the canon of Vitruvius, and each Doric temple had its own proportions, to say nothing of the Erechtheum and the other Ionic temples. Here was an elegance that was entirely new. Soon Greece became a favorite subject of study and a centre of general interest. The work by Stuart and Revett was followed by Wilkin's Magna Graecia, Penrose's study of the Parthenon, Cockerell's investigations at Aegina and Basse's Antiquities of Ionia, to mention only the work of the British scholars.

By the end of the Eighteenth Century we find a new classical Renaissance, this time a Philhellenic one, predominating everywhere in European architecture. The power of Greek art was such that it not only produced marvels in ancient times, but it was destined to give rise to new styles in almost every subsequent period of the world's history. Greece, the teacher of Rome and thus the indirect cause of the Renaissance, was to be again the source of a European neoclassical revival in

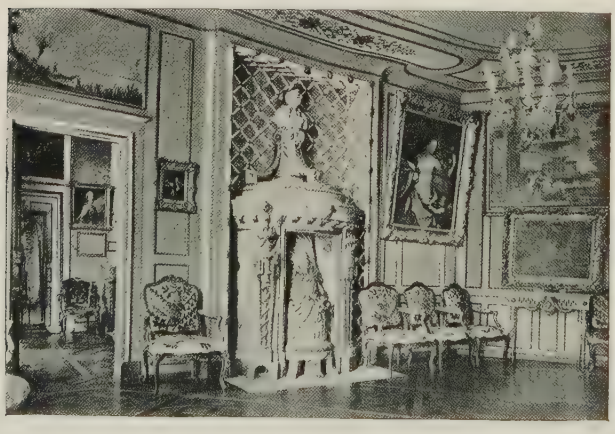


Fig. 643.—Interior of Voltaire's château at Ferney.

our grandfathers' time. Romanticism drew us away from Greece for a time, it is true, but a new wave of classicism is already imminent. Greece will again furnish us with models; as the Greek monuments of Asia become better known, we shall experience another neoclassical reaction. Then the art of Europe and America will not be based upon the antiquities of Attica but the little known temples of Ionia. Miletus, Ephesus and Sardis are already being explored. Indeed, the rich elegance of the Asiatic Greeks will be more in keeping with the requirements of our modern city life than the rather severe beauty of Greece.



Fig. 644. — Façade of St. Eustache. PARIS.

But let us turn from the uncertainties of the future to the more definite facts of the immediate past. France was retained for the neoclassical style by the restrictions of the Academy which accepted the baroque only on the exteriors of buildings. The formula was that the classical orders should be adhered to on the outside while the interior could be given over to the rococo, and this facilitated the new classical revival. The intellectual revolution, too, which preceded the political one, was a step toward the simplicity of ancient times.

The nobility also shared in this desire. The Comte de Caylus, traveller and critic, sought to interest people in classical art. La Pompadour herself sent her brother, the Marquis de Marigny, to Italy that he might study "true beauty." The fall of the rococo was already in sight when Louis XV constructed the Petit Trianon on simpler lines, making it as classical as possible (fig. 641). In the palace of Versailles the library of Louis XVI stands out in contrast with the older apartments with their cherubs and rocailles (figure 642).



Fig. 645. Façade of the Panthéon. PARIS.



Fig. 646. — Interior of the Madeleine. Paris.

The medallions, vases, garlands and allegorical figures are outlined with as few curves as possible. The pediments are no longer curved and broken, and even the volutes take the form of the Greek. Walls spaces and façades are divided into panels; on the brackets are striae like those on the Greek metopes; and sphinxes and elliptical medallions take the place of the crowded rocailles of the preceding period. Greek frets, palmettes, bows and emblems become the favorite ornaments.

Among the principa buildings of the reign of Louis XVI we should mention the Palais Royal which was the residence of the Duke of Orleans, the Hôtel de Salm, now the Palais de la Légion d'Honneur, the Hôtel des Monnaies and the Ecole Militaire. The new style was enthusiastically received in the provinces; Metz and Strassburg saw a building revival. At Bordeaux they built a large theatre with a magnificent colonnade on its exterior and at Amiens, another that was even more frankly neoclassical.



Fig. 647. — Arc de Triomphe. Paris.

Work was also done on the churches at this time. From this period date the façade of St. Sulpice at Paris, the work of the famous Servandoni, and that of St. Eustache, a beautiful church begun during the early years of the Renais-

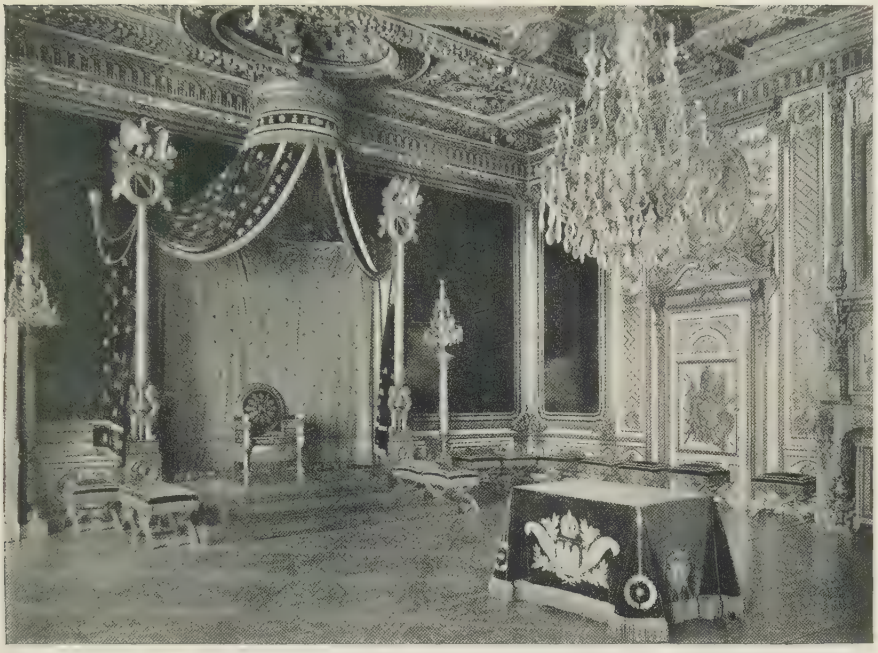


Fig. 648. Throne-room of Napoleon I. Fontainebleau.

sance and only completed toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, when a grandson of Mansart and, later still, a certain Moreau Desproux added a neoclassical main portal (fig. 644). The Panthéon was the most famous religious structure of the last years of the ancien régime. It was designed by Soufflot; in the plain exterior walls and the façade of six columns supporting a pediment which extends across the entire building we see plainly the influence of the neoclassical reaction (fig. 645).

This tendency began, as we have already noted, in the reign of Louis XVI, and during the Revolution it could not but become still more accentuated. All the Napoleonic buildings are animated by this wave of enthusiasm for antiquity. The ornamental emblems are no longer pastoral symbols, shepherd's bags, pipes and ribbons, but rather eagles, crowns and figures of Victory (fig. 648). The most characteristic works under the Empire are the church of the Madeleine and the Arc de Triomphe at Paris. The former was to be, according to Napoleon, *un Temple de Gloire,* and the latter was erected to commemorate the Imperial campaigns (fig. 646). Among the other monuments raised in the same spirit are the Colonne Vendôme, an imitation of Trajan's Column, the Bourse and the Chamber of Deputies. The last two are embellished with majestic colonnades as tall as the buildings themselves.

In England the return to classical simplicity began with Sir William Chambers, who built the great edifice on the bank of the Thames called Somerset House in 1776. But it was the brothers, Robert and James Adam, who popularized the new style. They developed a decorative system of ribbons, medallions

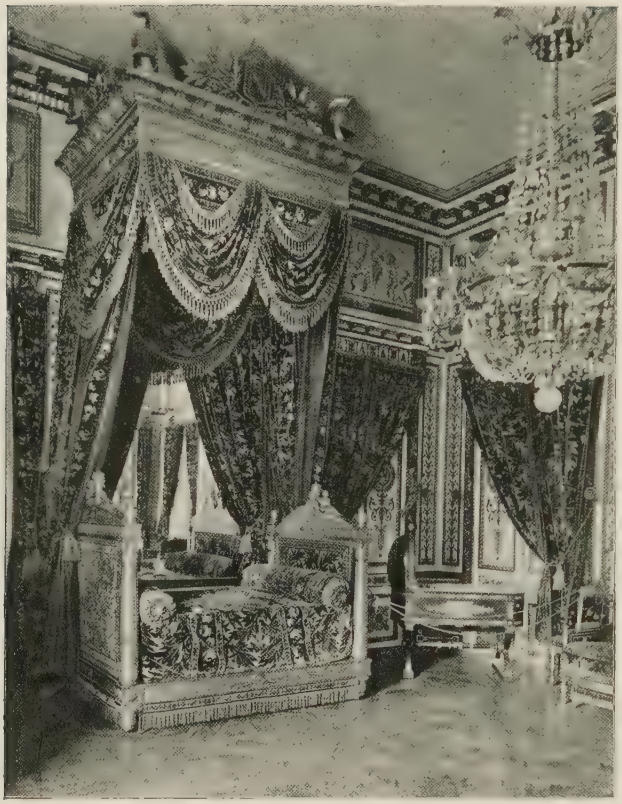


Fig. 649. — Sleeping apartment of Napoleon I. Fontainebleau.

and garlands, a feature which is still known by the name of these men in England and the British Colonies. This style is well adapted to stucco-work, ceiling and mural decorations, although it makes for niceness rather than strength. All of its elements were taken from classical art, but highly elaborated as though to make them as Greek as possible. With a view of avoiding a baroque effect the mouldings were made plainer and at the same time finer.

Many of the more important public buildings in London were constructed at this time, such as those fronting on Trafalgar Square, the Exchange, the British Museum and the church of St. Pancras.

In the countries of Central Europe the neoclassical reaction developed in a very natural manner. We have not the space to cite even a few of the many and important structures which were built in Germany and Austria at this time. We mention only the Rathaus at Baden, the Königskolonnaden and the Brandenburg Gate at Berlin, the Museum at Cassel and the Glyptothek at Munich. The new architectural influence spread even to Russia; in the palace of the Hermitage at Petrograd we see Atlantean supports like those of the temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum (fig. 650), and the rather ugly cathedral of the Virgin of Kazan in Petrograd is also a neoclassical structure.

In Spain the classical revival began in the reign of Charles III. The Toledo Gate and the Alcalá Gate at Madrid have almost nothing of the baroque in them, and in the time of Charles IV the baroque was banished for ever. At Aranjuez we find the Casa del Labrador, built for the Prince de Asturias, entirely decorated with themes taken from Pompeii (fig. 651). At Madrid the church of San Francisco el Grande, the work of Fray Francisco de las Cabezas, is planned and decorated in imitation of the ancient circular structures. The Prado Mu-

seum, the Observatory and the Aduana are built in the same neoclassical style.

In the Spanish provinces the classical revival spread rapidly. We might mention the churches of San Felipe Neri (a saint of this very period) at Malaga and Barcelona, the cathedral of Vich and the Lonja at Barcelona, and there are many others.



Fig. 650.—Palace of the Hermitage. PETROGRAD.

In the United States we can readily understand that the first construction of a national character should bear the imprint of a love for classical forms. It was a free country and people were organizing a new society, taking for their model the republican ideals of ancient times. New York, Boston and Philadelphia, therefore, attempted to imitate the buildings of the Greeks. The Capitol at Washington is an enormous structure with its plain walls and colonnades and crowned with a dome in imitation of St. Paul's at London. The architect was William Thornton whose plans were modified by Latrobe and Bulfinch, and the building itself falls well within the period we are discussing, though the tall iron dome was added many years later (figure 653). The straight lines of the neoclassical style were well suited to the private homes of the time in America which were, many of them, built of wood. The only decorations were the porticos, balustrades and dormer windows (fig. 654).



Fig. 651.—Ball-room. Casa del Labrador. ARANJUEZ.



Fig. 652. — The Independence Hall. PHILADELPHIA.

Although these neoclassical structures seem anything but Greek to us today, Europe and the United States had turned completely to what they fondly imagined to be the architecture of antiquity, and they attempted with even less success to follow the same lines in sculpture and painting. In sculpture the task should have been an easier one, for antique statues were abundant and on these the classical revival was largely based. Winckelmann's studies were directed chiefly toward this art, and Schlegel later affirmed that the only way to a complete understanding of Greek literature was through the appreciation of the beauty of the classical statues. The group of critics and artists, who founded the famous organization for archaeological studies in Rome toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, were interested largely in sculpture. So it is not surprising that the neoclassical buildings were filled with poor imitations of the antique statues of the gods.

Great men like Napoleon and Wellington, and even the famous scholars of the time appear in nude portrait-statues, represented as athletes or even in plain torsos; the eyes are carved without pupils to give them a Greek appearance.

Of the many sculptors of the time only two names have survived the subsequent change in tastes and the condemnations of the critics. One was the Danish Thorwaldsen and the other, the Venetian Canova. Thorwaldsen worked in Rome for a long time. His well finished and polished marbles have a certain restful charm; they are not lacking in perfection of line. But if they are faultless, nevertheless, we see in them no great innovation, nor do they betray an strong or original inspiration. His Jason (fig. 655) is a frank imitation of the Doryphorus of Polycleitus; we find even the archaic accentuation of the muscles.

Canova was of a different temperament. A thorough Venetian, he still preserved Titian's and Giorgione's feeling for beauty. He was always inspired by his concept of love, and he often portrayed the old, and yet ever new, story of Cupid and Psyche. Like all the neoclassical artists, his work was deliberately inexpressive. Even in his goddesses and Cupids, although they are beautiful, we



Fig. 653. — The Capitol. WASHINGTON.

seem to see an enchantment which has turned them to stone. Instead of putting life into the marble, he petrified a living being (fig. 656).

Canova worked for Napoleon and various members of his family; we might almost call him the court sculptor of the Empire. The most beautiful of his sculptures is, perhaps, the portrait of the Emperor's sister, Pauline Bonaparte, who married Prince Borghese. Here she is represented as Venus and reclines upon an antique couch.

The painters of the earlier neoclassical group are less interesting than the sculptors. The first was Mengs, a pedantic artist of international reputation. The most amazing thing about him is that a man of such mediocre talents could achieve such fame. Like Winckelmann, he spent his early life in Saxony, but he travelled much and worked in many of the European courts. His system, like that of the other neoclassical painters, was an eclectic one. He sought to reproduce the ancient world, but since few of the paintings of antiquity was known in his time, he could only paint the antique statues on canvas, and at that he did it badly (fig. 657).



Fig. 654. — Mount Vernon. VIRGINIA.

In spite of so unfortunate a beginning, a great artist appeared in France. This was

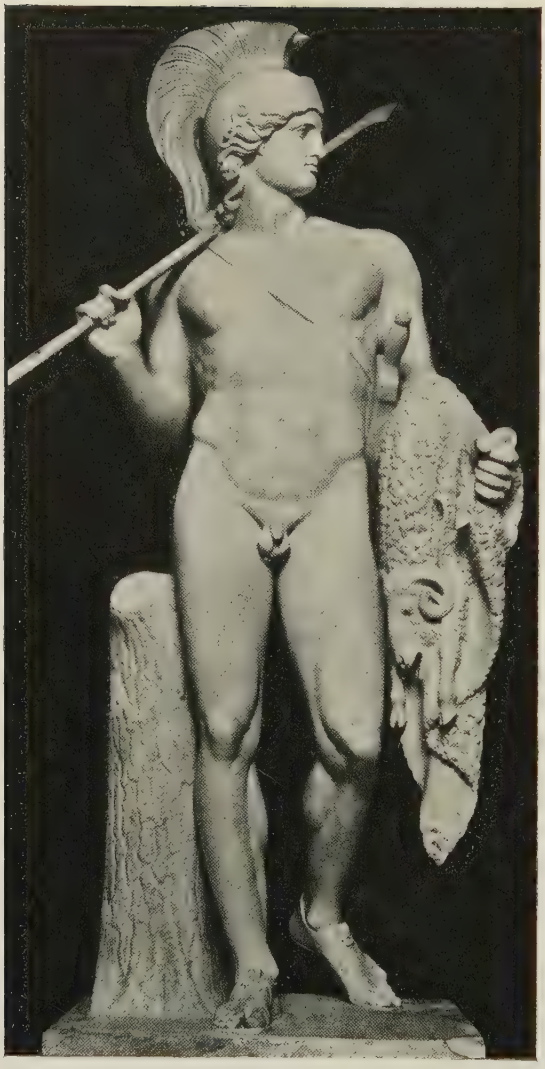


Fig. 655. — Thorwaldsen. Jason. Copenhagen.

Jacques Louis David who was born in Paris in 1748. He was a pupil of the Academy, and after four unsuccessful attempts he won the Prix de Rome. In Italy he participated in the classical revival initiated by Winckelmann and returning to Paris in 1784 he exhibited his picture of the Oath of the Horatii. This is a portrayal of those spirited Roman youths who offered themselves as a sacrifice for the fatherland. Nothing could have suited better the tastes of the period; it is an attempt to reproduce the ancient world in every detail. Nevertheless, in this as in his other pictures David is lacking in inspiration. When the Revolution came, he became the friend of Marat and Robespierre and was carried away by the prevailing enthusiasm. As a member of the Convention he even voted for the execution of his former friend and patron, Louis XVI, and organized the popular republican festival in honor of the "Supreme Being." His Oath of the Tennis Court was painted in commemoration of those stirring days. After the fall of Robespierre David spent five months in prison, where he had time to plan his famous picture of the Rape of the Sabines. With Napoleon's rise to power the painter, inspired by his study of the classics, particularly Plutarch, saw in the Corsican leader one of the heroes of antiquity. He became a faithful follower of the Emperor to whom he dedicated some of his most famous pictures, such as the Coronation and the Distribution of the Eagles, now in the Louvre. We have many stories of David's relations with the Emperor whose favorite painter he was. Once the artist asked Napoleon to take a certain position that he might obtain as good a resemblance as possible. "Resemblance?" demanded the Emperor. "Why? No one is interested

in the resemblance of a great man. It is sufficient to see his genius through the portrait. Alexander certainly never sat for Apelles."

Before the Hundred Days David remained in Paris unnoticed by Louis XVIII, but the artist was one of the first signers of the act excluding the Bourbons from the French throne when Napoleon returned from Elba. After the battle of Waterloo there was no course for the painter but to go into exile. The great artist of the Napoleonic epic and celebrated historical painter died in Brussels in 1825. Today our ideas of decorative painting have changed, and for historical subjects we prefer softer tones, harmonious grays and the like, which give a greater flatness to the wall-surface. We subdue such painting to the architecture of which it is the embellishment, so we do not care for David's great historical compositions such as the Coronation and the Oath of the Tennis Court. David's portraits have survived the test of time much better, for like some of the other neoclassical artists he was a great portrait-painter (fig. 658). His Marat Assassinated is still a vivid reminder of those days and shows us what he could really do. Another generation, perhaps, will do more justice to David's powerful and dramatic historical scenes and to his truly great technique.



PHOTO G. RAJDON

Fig. 656. — Canova. The Three Graces. *(Hermitage.)* PETROGRAD.

David founded a school and had many pupils. His influence is seen in the work of the famous portrait-painter, Isabelle Vigée-Lebrun, who was born in 1755 and died about the middle of the Nineteenth Century. She had studied with Greuze and was for a time the favorite painter of the court of Louis XVI. At the



Fig. 657. — Mengs. The Judgment of Paris. PETROGRAD.

time of the Revolution she left France and travelled widely. She spent a long time in Italy, three years in Vienna, six in St. Petersburg and three in London. She was well received everywhere and painted many portraits. In St. Petersburg alone, according to her memoires, she painted no less than forty-seven. Her manner of arranging her sitters was charming, and she had a remarkable ability to catch them at their best (fig. 659).

David's real pupils, however, were Gérard, Ingres and Gros. Gérard began to work with the master in 1789. He also became a great portrait-painter and was one of those who perpetuated the glory of Napoleon. Gérard painted the great man crowned with laurel and wearing the imperial mantle, and in another portrait he made every effort to show Marie Louise at her best. After the battle of Austerlitz Napoleon ordered a large decorative composition in commemoration of the famous victory. Gérard became a person of considerable note, and his wife's salon was well known. For thirty years his home was the meeting-place of the artists and intellectuals of Paris, for, unlike David, he was able to make his peace with the Bourbons and even did some work for Louis XVIII. His most popular picture, however, was not one of his historical compositions but the Cupid and Psyche which he had painted early in life (fig. 660).

Gros was only fifteen years old when he entered David's studio. When the Revolution broke out he went to Italy where he became acquainted with Napoleon. The latter was at that time in Milan directing the brilliant campaigns of his earlier years. Gros painted Napoleon with uncovered head leading his troops in



Fig. 658.—David. Portrait of Mme. Recamier. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

a charge on the bridge of Arcola. This picture made the artist famous. Napoleon was so pleased that he appointed Gros member of the commission which was to confiscate certain works of art from the conquered Italian cities for a museum he planned at Paris. Later the Imperial Government commissioned him to paint other pictures in commemoration of contemporary events. David's pupils can hardly be accused, therefore, of neglecting their own time in a futile attempt to resurrect antiquity. Their classicism was only a cloak for their ideas and thoughts which were thoroughly modern. Gros was the favorite pupil of David who blamed him for devoting himself entirely to the Napoleonic epic, instead of painting classical themes. "Posterity will complain," he declared, "because Gros has not painted a Death of Themistocles.



Fig. 659.—Vigée-Lebrun. Portrait of herself. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.



Fig. 660.—Gérard. Cupid and Psyche. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

What a pity!" Nevertheless, when David went into exile, he turned his studio and his pupils over to Gros.

The rival of Gros was another of David's pupils by the name of Ingres. He was born in Montauban in 1780. It has been stated that he once saw at Toulouse some copies of Raphael's pictures and from that moment resolved to devote his life to painting. Raphael's religion was to be the inspiration of his career. As a matter of fact, the story of his life is very similar to that of the other French artists of his time. He went to Paris, entered David's studio and won the Prix de Rome; only in 1801 the Government did not have sufficient funds to send its pensionnaires to the Eternal City. It was not until 1806 that Ingres could make

use of his scholarship which was for a period of six years. At Rome he painted some of his most famous pictures, all in a purely academic style (fig. 661). To him good drawing was the essential thing. "Drawing," he said, "is everything. A good draughtsman will always be able to find the color which corresponds to the character of the work." He also felt that the themes of antiquity had a universal application. "Has the soul of man, by any chance, changed since Homer's time?" he asked. His doctrines, however, are better than his pictures. Ingres alone would be a sufficient justification for the Preraphaelite reaction. If the "religion of Raphael" could produce nothing better than Ingres, we must admit that it did not amount to much. His famous painting, La Source, is said to have taken more than forty years to complete, for he was always retouching it.

The last neoclassical French painter would be Prud'hon. He was born at Cluny, went to Paris and won a scholarship which enabled him to study in Rome. He did not share Ingres' enthusiasm for Raphael but turned rather to Leonardo and Correggio for his inspiration. Some of his paintings have Leonardo's softness of outline (fig. 662). His themes are not so historical nor so academic as those of David and his pupils, but, nevertheless, he can hardly be called either modern or romantic.



PHOTO GIRAUDON

Fig. 661. — Ingres. La Source. *(Louvre.)* PARÍS.

While the historical and academic painting of David and his followers was flourishing in France, the English school was devoting its talents almost entirely to landscape and portrait painting. England had had but few painters of her own. During the Reformation period Holbein and Moro satisfied the artistic tastes of the English aristocracy; later, Van Dyck became almost an English painter. The antecedents of the English school of portrait painting are to be sought, therefore, in the work of these foreign painters, particularly in that of Van Dyck. The story is told how Sir Joshua Reynolds called on Gainsborough just before the latter's death. When they took leave of one another, Gainsborough said, "Good-by, till we meet in the hereafter, and Van Dyck in our company."

Van Dyck's influence must have been a strong guiding force to keep the English school from following the more anecdotal and natural manner of William



Fig. 662. — Prud'hon. Psyche carried of by Zephyrs. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

Hogarth, the first great personality of English art. In both his writings and his engravings he protests against dark and obscure painting. He had little taste for the "ship-loads of dead Christs, Holy Families and Madonnas" by the imitators of the illustrious Italian painters, which were imported into England. Hogarth also declared that he was not disposed to turn his studio into a portrait factory, although as a matter of fact he was much disappointed that his contemporaries did not recognize him as the great painter and colorist that he undoubtedly was, but rather as a preacher of illustrated sermons. At any rate he created a new type of painting which he called "small conversation pieces." These were series of four to six little pictures executed with the most penetrating realism. Hogarth was a genuine philosopher. Only Goya can be compared to him, and Goya lacks

his literary gifts, although the Spanish artist surpassed him in energy. Hogarth also wrote an Analysis of Beauty, but it is in his paintings and engravings that we really appreciate his insight and his philosophy. He was a marvelous observer and found on the street many of the types which appear in his pictures. The Shrimp Girl, now in the National Gallery, is seen with parted lips as she cries her wares (fig. 663).



Fig. 663. — Hogarth. The Shrimp Girl. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

But as we have already noted, inspite of this cold bath of realism, the English school of painting was to follow the path marked by Van Dyck. This tendency is seen first in Reynolds who was only twenty six-years younger than Hogarth.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was the son of a clergyman and schoolmaster of Plympton. Enjoying the patronage of a number of wealthy friends, Reynolds studied for a time in London and afterward went to Italy, where he remained three years. He was a great admirer of Michelangelo, and in the course of his long and prosperous career he never lost this feeling for the great Florentine master. Indeed, he wrote that he felt a certain admiration for himself when he experienced the sensations which Michelangelo intended to arouse by means of his paintings, and he disavowed any vanity in the declaration of this sentiment. And yet by the law of contrasts Reynolds led a life very different from that of the famous Italian. Upon his return to London it became most fashionable in aristocratic circles to have one's portrait done by Reynolds. Soon the King and court were or-



Fig. 664. — Hogarth. Portrait of the artist made in 1758.



Fig. 665.—Reynolds. Mrs. Cockburn and her children. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

dering portraits of him. Reynolds, who by this time had been knighted, lived in a house on Leicester Square; his servants were resplendent in silver lace and the painter rode about London in a fancifully gilded carriage. Every year he charged higher prices for his work; a head alone cost twenty guineas and a full length portrait, one hundred and fifty. In spite of his ostentation, Reynolds never ceased to be a great artist; his genius was always a noble one (figure 665). The most gifted men of the city met at his house; Dr. Johnson, Garrick, the actor, and such women as Nelly O'Brien, Mrs. Robinson and Angelica Kauffmann, to say nothing of the ladies and gentlemen who vied with one another to have him paint their portraits. Sir Joshua Reynolds was elected president of the Royal Academy, and he seems always to have been affable and even-tempered, an English gentleman in every respect. He never married and at his death in 1792 he was buried beside Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's. In addition to his paintings, Reynold's treatises are both interesting and witty. His fifteen Discourses, the presidential addresses he gave each year for the Academy at the distribution of prizes, are not only excellent literature, but they are also full of valuable advice to artists, the result of his long experience and study. Strangely enough, Reynolds preached the doctrine of the "grand style" of the Italians. This was heroic painting with subjects taken from classical sources, mythology and religion, and treated in a lofty manner. The contrast with his work is evident. With the exception of a number of religious and allegorical compositions, such as Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse, Reynolds' successful paintings were all portraits, many of them studies of frivolous women. But what seems frivolous to us today may have been heroic in his day. These Englishwomen of delicate complexion are always enveloped in an atmosphere of distinction. In the background is an idyllic landscape or a large curtain. Sometimes the subject caresses a horse; again she is beside a pedestal, an antique marble or a fountain. Sir Joshua was

not a pretender who preached the grand style to the students of the Academy and only painted flattering portraits of court ladies. Indeed, the good president performed miracles. We must remember what these Eighteenth-century English beauties were; the letters of Lord Byron a few years later tell us of their esthetic perversion. There could have been but little of the heroic feminine in the London drawing-rooms for Sir Joshua to portray. And yet the coloring of his portraits and other pictures rivals that of the Venetians, and his drawing is exquisite. One of his critics remarked that even when he painted the most graceful English lady in all her freshness and animation, he was never so completely lost in his subject that he forgot the old painters. Modern critics sometimes rather disparage him for this very detachment (fig. 666).



Fig. 666. — Reynolds. Contemplation.

About the same time another great English portrait painter made his appearance and his life was somewhat similar to that of Reynolds. The son of a provincial middle-class family, Thomas Gainsborough soon showed a love for painting and was sent to London where he spent a number of years attempting to paint portraits, although with little success. He married a young lady named Margaret Burr who brought him a fair dowry and a leisurely life in Ipswich followed. But our artist became more ambitious as he grew older and with his wife and two daughters moved to Bath, then a famous fashionable resort. Here he was able to make the same acquaintances with persons of importance that Reynolds had effected in London. His studio was soon crowded with visitors, and year by year he raised his prices for portraits. Finally he decided to move to London, and it was not long before he was summoned to the palace. During the next nine years he was called in some fifteen times to paint the portraits of the King and various members of his family.

Among lovers of art Gainsborough and Reynolds were recognized as the two indisputably great masters, although they were not jealous of one another. Gainsborough was a family man and more reserved, while Reynolds was more popular. The latter's favorite tavern in London was the meeting place of the artists of the time. While Reynolds is more pleasing, Gainsborough, on the other hand, is more appreciated today. Modern criticism is more desirous of characterization than of beauty. Gainsborough's portraits reveal the psychology and movements of the sitter in a manner which we do not find in Reynolds' more

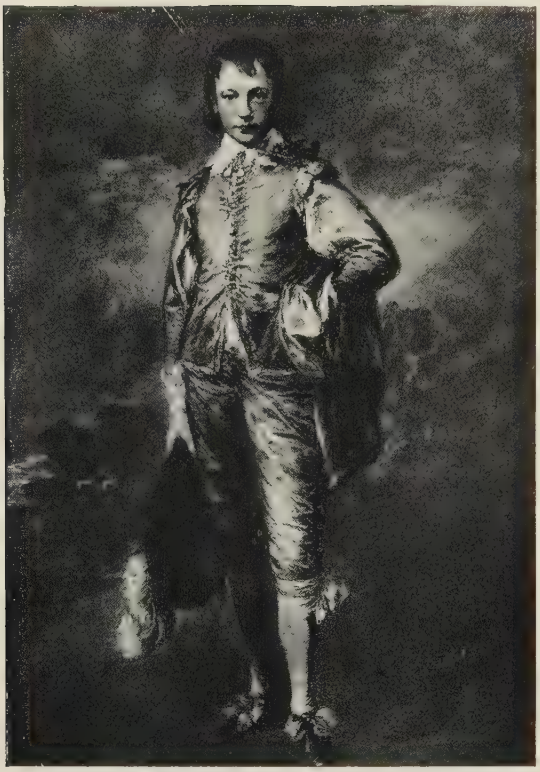


Fig. 667.—Gainsborough. The Blue Boy.
(H. E. Huntington Collection.) PASADENA.

academic poses. Gainsborough also was an admirable colorist and characteristically English in this respect; he saw the world in a new aspect. Coloring had been neglected during the new classical revival, but the English artists became admirers of light effects, although they had a view point all their own.

The third great English portrait painter was Romney, who was almost a contemporary of Reynolds and Gainsborough. For some years he enjoyed a reputation which seemed almost to eclipse that of the other two. His family life was anything but a happy one. The son of a countryman, he married young and led an exemplary life until ambition and necessity took him to London. His wife and son remained in his father's home, and from that time on he only saw them on occasional visits until late in life he came home to die. He visited Paris and later, Rome. Returning to London he established himself in Cavendish Square, where his previous reputation continued to bring him in plenty of orders for portraits. Romney was an extraordinary colorist, and he had a remarkable ability to give his portraits of women an unusual sweetness and charm. He was at the height of his fame when he met Emma Lyon, a girl of great beauty with whom he fell in love and whom he painted in every imaginable pose. His passion for her was a mixture of love and esthetic admiration, and she was, indeed, an admirable model. But she was reckless and extravagant and was practically sold by her protector, the Hon. Charles Greville, to his uncle, Lord Hamilton, who was then ambassador at Naples. The latter finally married her, and her subsequent affair with Admiral Nelson is almost a chapter of English history. Her effect on Romney, however, was most disastrous, for her fascinations had much to do with the shattering of the already weakened health of the painter. Romney's art was uneven and his disposition instable, but his portraits of Lady Hamilton are still unsurpassed in their freshness and skilful handling. Some of his other portraits like that of Miss Robinson compare with those of Gainsborough.

Between Romney and the following generation, repesented by Lawrence, stands the delicate Hoppner, whose full recognition is yet to come (fig. 671). At the same time, in Edinburgh, a solitary great figure appeared in Raeburn, who lived just in time to paint the vanishing aristocracy of the Highlands. He left us a precious treasure of portraits of those clan chieftains, dressed in kilts, bred with whisky, friends of Burns, the future colonizers of Canada and Australia.



Fig. 668. — Gainsborough. Sketch for a portrait.

Reynold's successor as President of the Royal Academy was an American by the name of Benjamin West. He came from a Quaker family of Springfield, Pennsylvania, and while still a boy showed considerable aptitude for painting. His talent aroused the interest of a group of art-lovers, among them the Governor of the Colony, and in 1760 he was enabled to sail for Italy on a ship carrying a cargo of flour to Leghorn. At Rome the arrival of this American artist caused something of a sensation. Cardinal Albani inquired whether the transatlantic painter was white or black. Mengs, who was then Director of the Vatican school of painting, gave the young West the following receipt for the pursuit of his artistic education: "First copy half a dozen of the best statues at Rome, and then go to Florence and study the collection of paintings in that city. Proceed to Bologna and study the works of the Caracci; afterwards visit Parma and examine attentively the pictures of Corregio; and then go to Venice and view the productions of Tintoretto, Titian and Veronese. When you have made this tour, come back to Rome and paint an historical composition to be exhibited to the Roman public." West followed these instructions, except that instead of exhibiting the inevitable historical composition at Rome, he chose London. This was his Angelica and Medora. The painting was



Fig 669.—Romney. Lady Hamilton.
New York.

displayed in one of the halls of Spring Garden, and the Colonial painter immediately enjoyed a tremendous success. The Archbishop of York suggested that he should paint a picture of Agrippina bearing the ashes of Germanicus, which he did. This was so well received that the King himself came to view it. George III, who had a taste for classical literature, told West that the departure of Regulus for Carthage would be as interesting a subject as the Agrippina, and turning to the Queen with a smile, said: "I will read to Mr. West that part of Livy where he describes the departure of Regulus." West's fortune was, of course, assured, but, alas for the art of painting, now subject to the whims of Mengs, George III and a neoclassical archbishop.

The Archbishop of York did not lose sight of his protégé and intervened on another occassion with a proposal which sheds considerable light on the artistic conceptions of the later Eighteenth Century. Upon learning that West intended to paint the death of General Wolfe on the heights of Quebec and was planning to portray the characters dressed in the costumes of the period, the Archbishop consulted with Sir Joshua Reynolds, and these two eminent men endeavored to persuade the artist to depict his hero in classical attire. West, it is true, pointed out the fact that the event to be commemorated occurred in the year 1758, in a part of the world unknown to the Greeks and Romans and at a time when such costumes were no longer in vogue in military circles; but it seems amazing to us today that an American would be the first to realize the absurdity of painting Wolfe and his adjutants in helmets, cuirasses and mantles.



Fig. 670.—Romney. Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante.

West continued to exercise his profession in London until his death,



Lawrence. Portrait of a Lady.

covering vast canvases with religious scenes which still occupy the spaces in Windsor Castle for which they were planned. It is to be noted, however, that in spite of the royal patronage and the honors conferred upon him, even during the life of the artist we begin to detect signs of dissatisfaction. Byron rather irritably refers to West as "poor England's best," and even such pupils as Stuart speak slightingly of the acres of canvas painted by the Quaker president. Nevertheless, if a good character and kind heart can justify the reputation of an artist, West is entitled to our indulgence. His home was always open to Americans, and here Peale, Trumbull and Stuart, the first artists of America, we might say, were hospitably received.



Fig. 671.— Hoppner. Portrait of Mrs. Benwell.

But first we should mention, however briefly, an artist by the name of John Singleton Copley, who was born in Boston in 1738, the very year of West's birth. Like the latter, he went first to Italy and subsequently to London. Copley worked in Boston for many years and did not revisit the Continent until he was past forty. This departure was due to both family and political reasons. Copley sympathized with the American Revolution, but his father-in-law and brothers-in-law were staunch Tories. Copley's portraits, up to this time, give us a discrete picture of the prominent New England society of his day; indeed the good taste of this Colonial artist is surprising. In London, although he rose to no such preeminence as did West, success was not lacking. Copley was essentially a portrait-painter; even his large composition depicting the death of Lord Chatham is an assemblage of portraits. He was a member of the Royal Academy, and his son, as Lord Lyndhurst, became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Among those of West's pupils who returned to their native land, we should first recall Peale, who accompanied Washington on his campaigns. Typically American in character, he was at once an artist, a scientist and a man of action. He founded the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and a museum of natural history and was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but did not cease to paint portraits. Trumbull also took part in the War of Independence and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill which he later painted in a spirited manner. He made a number of journeys to London where he was always received by West, but on one occasion he was imprisoned for his political activities.



Fig. 672. — West. Death of General Wolfe. *(Grosvenor House.)* LONDON.

Gilbert Stuart, on the other hand, devoted himself exclusively to art. Born in Rhode Island in 1755, he was of a cheerful and lively disposition, could always tell a pertinent anecdote and never lost his alert youthfulness. He began to paint at an early age and went to London in 1775, where he failed to find a suitable occupation, although he was a musician as well as painter. Obliged to return home, he did not really enter upon his career until 1778, when he again journeyed to London and entered West's studio. For four years he lived as a member of the latter's family and later set up a studio of his own. By this time his reputation permitted him to demand for his work prices second only to those obtained by Reynolds and Gainsborough. Of an improvident character, he was obliged for some unknown reason, possibly his debts, to leave London. He went to Dublin and later to Philadelphia, Germantown and Washington. It was at this period that he painted some two dozen portraits of the first President of the United States. It seems likely that most of these pictures were elaborations of the notes taken at the few sittings which Washington allowed him. Stuart himself, with his unfailing humor, remarked that if Washington had set to hall the portraits he painted of him, the Father of his Country would hardly have had time to win a battle, and the United States never have existed.

Seriously speaking, however, the American nation is most fortunate that an artist of Stuart's merit should have been present in the country during the last years of Washington's life. As a matter of fact, Stuart was not only master of the technique he acquired in West's sudio, but he also possessed a freedom of expression and an easy brush-stroke which was to become characteristic of the American School of painting (fig. 674).

One of the last portrait-painters of this period is Lawrence. Although he is somewhat more modern, he has no longer the vigorous genius of Reynolds,



PHOTO MANSELL

Fig. 673. — Copley. Death of Lord Chatham. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

Gainsborough and Romney. His work is more delicate, subtile and effeminate. It is said that in his youth, the actor Garrick asked Lawrence whether he would rather be painter or a comedian. All his life he was the victim of the passionate affection he seemed to awaken in women. Lawrence was elegant, discrete, and most handsome. He achieved his triumph twenty years after Hogarth had died, at a time when Reynolds had but six more years to live. Indeed, there was now but little competition. In spite of his weakness, the English aristocracy can hardly be reproached for the favor bestowed upon Lawrence, for he is still a great artist. He may not have the warm tones nor the heroic coloring of Reynolds; nor does he possess the exquisite harmony of Gainsborough and Romney. Lawrence's paintings have at times a pearly grey quality. From his white backgrounds of silvery clouds stand out the brilliant complexions of the English women of his time. His sitters were always portrayed more naturally than were those of Reynolds. Lawrence has been considered a great painter, but inferior to the other portrait-painters of the English school. A

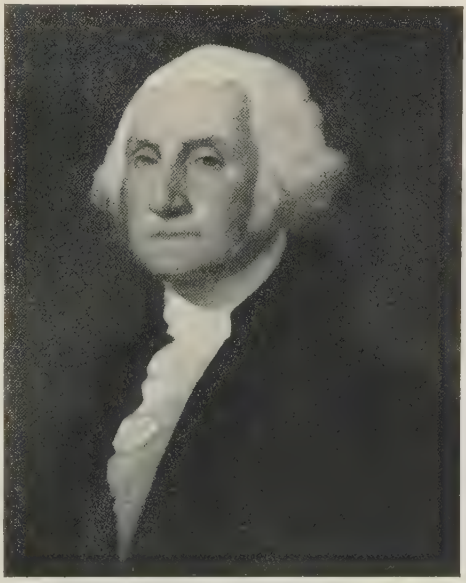


Fig. 674. — G. Stuart. Portrait of Washington. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* NEW YORK.

juster appreciation, perhaps, would be that when he succeeded, he had no rivals, but only when he succeeded (fig. 675).

Summary.—About the middle of the Eighteenth Century we find a reaction against the baroque style. The movement began in Rome among Winckelmann and his associates who were admirers of classical sculpture. We also find it in France during the reign of Louis XVI, but it culminated under the Empire. Napoleon encouraged the employment of classical forms and the tendency was to make them as simple and severe as possible. During the First Empire [art was characterized by straight lines, palmettes, crowns and victory figures. In England the study of classical antiquity became very fashionable, and the researches of Stuart and Revett in Athens did much to further the movement. The new style extended to Spain, Central Europe and even to Russia and America. Sculptors attempted to follow the same course and absolutely reproduce the statues of antiquity. In the cold imitations of Canova and Thorwaldsen we do find something of the genius of their models. In the field of painting Mengs' figures were simply painted statues. In France David achieved a great popularity and founded a school of academic painters who devoted themselves to the glorification of Napoleon and his Empire. Chief among the latter were Gros, Gerard, Prud'hon and Ingres. In England this reaction was not so much felt in painting. We find a distinguished school of portrait painting during the last half of the Eighteenth Century, men like Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney and Lawrence, who followed along the lines inaugurated by Van Dyck.

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Fig. 675. – Lawrence. Portrait of Mrs. Siddons.



Fig. 676. — Viollet-le-Duc. Restoration of the Court of the château of Pierrefonds.

CHAPTER XX

ROMANTICISM IN ARCHITECTURE. — THE REHABILITATION OF THE GOTHIC STYLE. — VIENNA AND DARMSTADT. — MODERN SCULPTURE: RODIN, FALGUIERE, KLINGER, TRUBETZKOI, MEUNIER, SAINT-GAUDENS. — ROMANTIC PAINTING: DELACROIX. — THE BARBIZON SCHOOL: ROUSSEAU, COROT, MILLET. — IMPRESSIONISM: MANET, MONET, DEGAS, WHISTLER. — IDEALISM: PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, SEGANTINI, HENRY MARTIN, MOREAU. — THE PRE-RAPHAELITES: HUNT, ROSSETTI, BURNE-JONES, WATTS.

We have now come to one of the most difficult parts of our task; that is to sum up in a few words the entire field of the art of the Nineteenth Century. We are obliged, of course, to confine ourselves to the outstanding personalities, men whose merit is beyond dispute. Here, we have to move with greater speed than in the other chapters of this book. While this haste may still be criticized today, fifteen years ago it would have appeared a yet more grievous fault. We are certain the future will excuse us.

The most noteworthy phenomenon in Nineteenth-century architecture was surely the rehabilitation of the Gothic style. It will seem strange in years to come to look back upon the Nineteenth Century as a Gothic period. True, the first thirty years still saw the neoclassical reaction, but after that time the effects of literary romanticism were soon felt in architecture. Chateaubriand had



Fig. 677. — Steindl. Parliament Buildings. BUDAPEST.

sung the praises of the Gothic cathedrals in France, and Victor Hugo had exalted them in his Notre-Dame de Paris. All this prepared the way for Viollet-le-Duc, the great apologist of the Gothic style. He theorized on this tendency and proclaimed the Gothic to be an entirely rational style, discovering the source of its beauty in the logical adaptation of its elements to the thrusts and strains of the building itself. It is quite evident that there was more or less reason in his theory; in nature we see the origin of the most beautiful flowers in the needs of the plant. On the other hand, how many times in art have we seen beauty growing out of something that was anything but reasonable! Viollet-le-Duc, who was a very superior person, could not but admire the classical beauty



Fig. 678. — Barry. Houses of Parliament. LONDON.

of the ancient buildings, and he had always the highest praise for them. He was also an admirable draughtsman and a good archaeologist (fig. 676). His drawings and restorations compensate for his pro-Gothic exaggerations, and, indeed, it was his pupils who went to the most violent extremes in this respect. The last were rather dreadful, particularly those who lived in the provinces and had not travelled and studied as the master. Many of these were simply pedants on the subject of mechanics and rational construction for which they neglected inspiration and good taste. They constituted the only evil result of the writings of Viollet-le-Duc.



Fig. 679. — Parliament Library. Ottawa.

In England the protagonists of the Greek revival did not surrender without a struggle. For twenty years the war raged between the two styles. At the head of the neoclassical school was Cockerell, an archaeologist, a true lover of Greek beauty and a gentlemanly academician. The Gothic enthusiasts were led by Pugin who heaped reproaches and insults upon the heads of his opponents. But in spite of his violent methods, Pugin won over many followers. When the competition for the Westminster Houses of Parliament was announced, one of the conditions was that the style was to be Gothic or Elizabethan. The project was awarded to Charles Barry who had already built the Travellers Club and the Reform Club in Pall Mall in the classical style. Notwithstanding, Barry's Gothic plan for the Houses turned out to be a very happy one (fig. 678).



Fig. 680. — University of Toronto. Canada.



Fig. 681. — Monumental stairway of the theatre. FREIBURG.

Fully aware of the importance of this work, he achieved one of the most noteworthy structures of modern Europe. His style, or perhaps rather his ideas, were imitated not only in the other European countries (fig. 677), but also in the British Colonies (figs. 679 and 680).

But the older neoclassical tradition was not yet defeated. Only a year later St. George's Hall in Liverpool was built in the classical style. Nevertheless the times were against it. Walter Scott with his mediaeval romances and later Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites all worked for the formation of a new pointed style. The only difficulty was the actual requirements of the building itself, for which the Gothic style was sometimes inadequate. It was all very well to build a modern Gothic church or even a city hall or a parliament building like those at London and Budapest, but how was one to construct a Gothic theatre or stock exchange? A certain amount of eclecticism was bound to creep in. The style would depend somewhat upon the temper of the architect. One day he would build a Gothic residence, and another, he might construct a club building made up of classical elements, architraves and volutes (fig. 681). Writers of treatises encouraged this tendency with their half-baked philosophical discussions of the various styles. Charles Blanc, for example, denounced Egyptian architecture with its horizontal lines as suitable only for a pantheon. The Gothic was a lofty style and consequently



Fig. 682. — Garnier. Stairway of the Opera. PARIS.

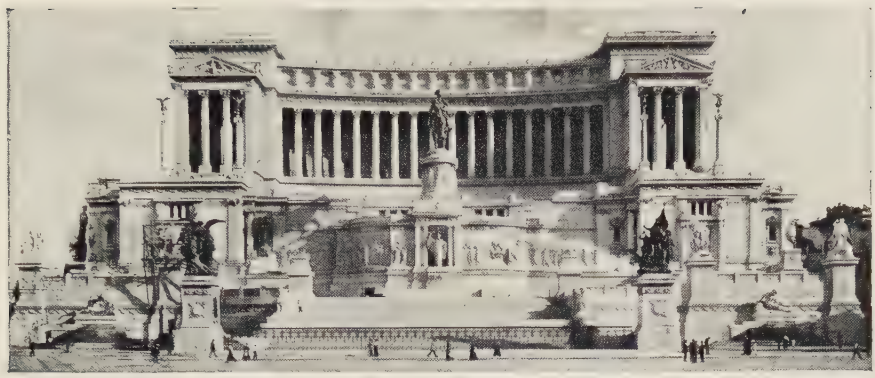


Fig. 683. — Sacconi. Monument of Victor Emmanuel II. Rome.

adapted to religious architecture; as though the Madeleine at Paris were not also a temple. There were the vague ideas of Hegel, misunderstood by the ultramontane Academicians of France, which spread to every part of Europe.

Such gross ignorance could lead only to stupefaction or to insanity, and it was the latter that occurred. People of discernment began to be uneasy; to employ styles eclectically was after all absurd. A style is not merely a repertory of forms; it is a living thing which cannot be brought to life a second time. The protagonists of the neoclassical or Greek revival attempted to resuscitate classical art, it is true. But we have seen how far they were from the real Greek. The modern Gothic was neither Gothic nor modern.

A modern style was required, which they attempted to create artificially. The whole proposition was simply grotesque! One French architect, Henry Sauvage, thought he had discovered the source of the new style in the trunks of trees. "Until now," he said, "we have used only flowers and leaves for decorative purposes; the trunks of trees with their curves can also be beautiful," and he proceeded to cover his façades with sticks. There were architects who would build only in undulating lines. Some of them wished to base the modern style on mechanical forms of highest efficiency, catenaries and parabolas, while others employed rectilinear metallic elements. The latter were really the creators of a new type, the first prominent examples of which were the buildings of Darmstadt, Vienna and Munich. Here we have the best of the new types arbitrarily created. Whether or not we admire it, it was at least efficient, and out of it is growing today the new reinforced concrete architecture which is already developing original forms of both grace and beauty (fig. 681).

To return to the middle Nineteenth Century, Europe required large buildings, some of which have turned out to be very creditable. In France we might cite the Opera and the Palais de l'Industrie in the Champs-Elysées; in London, the St. Pancras station and the hotels on the Strand and Regent St.; at Brussels, the Bourse and the Palais de Justice; the Börse and the Reichstag at Berlin, the railway station at Frankfort, the Banco de España at Madrid and the Sagrada Familia at Barcelona (plate LI). Nor must we neglect to mention the magnificent monument of Victor Emmanuel at Rome (fig. 683). These are, per-



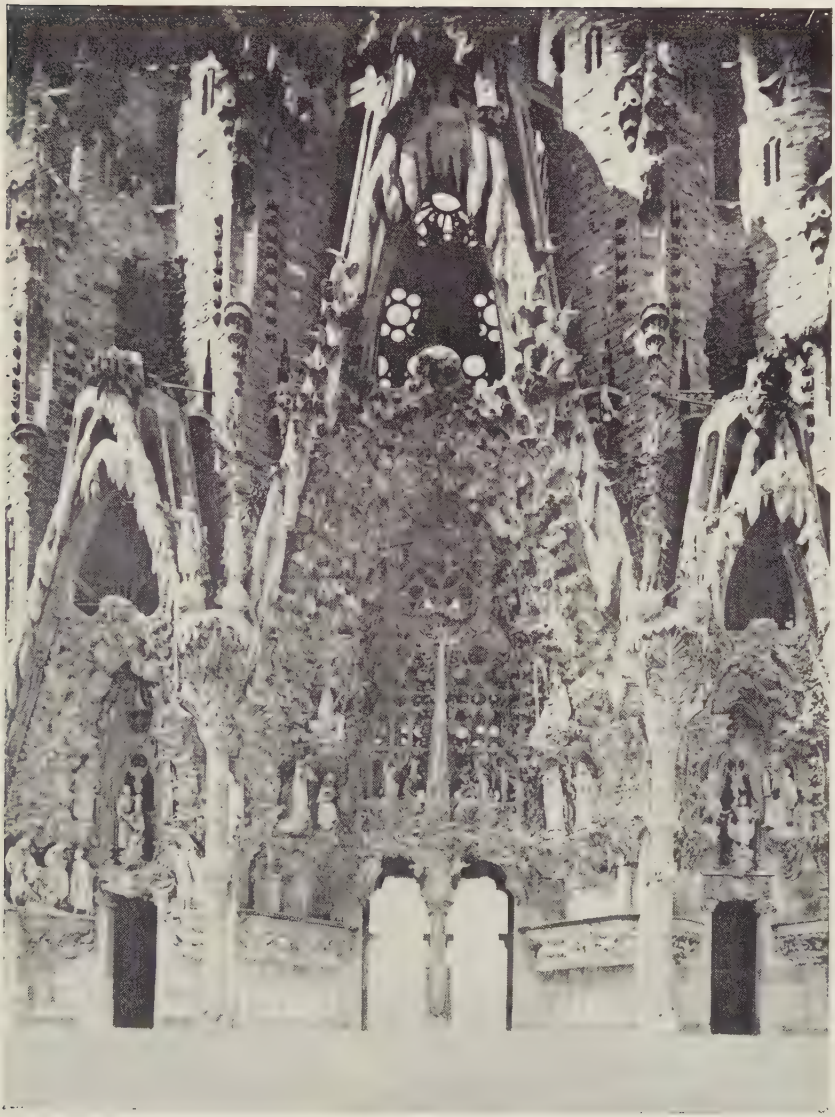
Fig. 684. — Pennsylvania Station. New York.

haps, the most interesting European works of modern times. In America we have the great hotel-buildings, and the vast railway stations like the Pennsylvania and the Grand Central in New York, which may well be compared to the monuments of ancient Rome so far as their immensity and richness are concerned (fig. 684). City congestion in the United States has also given rise to the so-called sky-scraper, a type of structure that is already developing a new architectural magnificence. Its best examples are comparable only with the lofty Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages. Here, too, the structural difficulties are enormous, not only in the foundations but also in the water, ventilation, heating and lighting problems involved (fig. 685).

Modern requirements have set their seal on all these structures, and modern industry has supplied the materials. Their present characteristic form is due, more than anything else, to the reinforced concrete of which they are built.

New themes and new requirements continually present themselves to the architect of today: exposition-buildings, hotels, railway stations and office-buildings. Both the needs and the materials employed become the sources of the new forms which appear, as it were, spontaneously, and not as the result of a deliberate attempt to create a new style. Perhaps the most significant examples of this are the new bridges and dams.

In Nineteenth-century sculpture we find the same vacillation as in architecture. We distinguish two main phases although, of course, we always make an exception of individual characteristics. One phase is the classicism which grew out of Canova's work in Italy and that of David in France. The other is a realism which we see at its best in Rodin. We could present various intermediate phases if the scope of this work permitted. As it is we must confine ourselves to the most characteristic works with a view of tracing the steps of this evolution which began with the types of Canova. We soon come to Rude's Départ des Volontaires de 1792 (fig. 686), a noble expression of dramatic energy and fire.



Gaudi. La Sagrada Familia. Gate of the Nativity. BARCELONA.

In this school we find the antecedents of the great masters of French sculpture in the Nineteenth Century prior to Rodin; such men as Mercié with his Gloria Victis and his beautiful funerary statues; Barye, Fremiet, Saint-Marceaux and finally Carpeaux whose masterpiece is his group of Dancing ornamenting the Opera at Paris (figure 687). He it was who carved the magnificent fountain, the Four Quarters of the World, in the Avenue de l'Observatoire at Paris.



Fig. 685. – Gilbert. Woolworth Building. New York.

During the romantic period we find the Salons filled with anecdotal groups, especially mediaeval themes which are dramatic interpretations of history. They have little lasting merit, nor have they even the advantage of being suitable for the decoration of a façade as were the cold neoclassical sculptures. Only rarely do we discern in one of these groups a spark of eternal beauty accompanying the intellectual conception demanded by the ideas of the time. Last century French sculpture produced but one truly great genius. This is Auguste Rodin whose work, uneven and open to discussion as it is, is at times worthy of being compared with that of the great sculptors of antiquity.

Rodin, like Leonardo, is an amoral artist. For him nothing exists except form. He treats and caresses the beauty of the human body with a passion that to many is but the grossness of a satyr. To the more initiated, however, it is an exalted love of form like that which inspired Socrates' praises of the ephebes of Athens. Rodin's was a rather eccentric personality; he had three studios filled with great sculptures, some of them never completed. This bearded prophet of pantheism with his polemics and discussions drew the attention of his con-



Fig. 686.—Rude. La Marseillaise. *(Arc de Triomphe.)* PARIS.



Fig. 687.—Carpeaux. Dancing. *(Opera of Paris.)*

temporaries almost as much, perhaps, as his works. But to us they have a unique interest; it is through them that Rodin is a great man. As he says himself, art is a religion and its first commandment is to know how to model a leg, an arm or a torso. During the last years of his life, for he died in 1917, he attempted to perpetuate some of his ideas in his own writings and those of his friends. His last book on the Gothic cathedrals is full of admirable sketches, and we are charmed by his enthusiasm for the decorations and other forms of mediaeval French art. In his other writings, besides his polemics, he explains his manner of interpreting nature. Movement, he says, is the transition from one attitude to another. Figures, therefore, should not be confined to a predetermined position. He considers that his sculpture is more natural than an actual plaster cast, and that the image of the model in his memory is a better one than the model itself, as he sees it with his own eyes.

But Rodin's best defence is his marvelous knowledge of form. All his idiosyncrasies find justification in the beauty of some of his works. He understands pain and man's struggle both with himself and with the exterior world, so characteristic of modern times. Take his Thinker. What tension! What a desire to know, and so different from the Pensieroso of Michelangelo! (fig. 688). In love, as in pain and death, Rodin is always a modern in the highest sense of the word (figs. 689 and 691). We cannot but pardon the faults of a man who in our own time has produced such a work as the Bronze Age. Here we have the figure of a youth who sym-

bolizes the first awakening of humanity to knowledge (fig. 690). It is a marvelous thing; its perfect realization is worthy of one of the great masters of ancient Greece, and its keen insight surpasses even the subtlety of our own time.

Like Michelangelo, and like Lysippus and Polycleitus if we only knew, Rodin was a student and a tireless worker. Often he would disappear for days, shut up in one of his studios analyzing the hand, the leg or the gesture of a model. Rodin's enthusiasm was naturarally inspired by the Greek sculptors, although his temperament was essentially modern. He was also a student and admirer of Donatello and Michelangelo. Nevertheless, these vacillations sometimes disconcerted the public. Rodin ruthlessly defied both the critics and the public with his eccentricities which were at times pure affectation. Take, for example, the mutilated figure of a man walking. Head and arms are missing; as though the Doryphorus were not also a man walking and the Victory of Samothrace only began to fly when it arrived at the Louvre in its mutilated state! But, as we have already remarked, Rodin's more beautiful works redeem all their eccentricities. Moreover, there is in this independence an evidence of the man's personality. Rodin does no more than affirm anew the fact that the modern artist, freed from academic formulas, has only himself to account to for his works. It is the theory of sincerity carried to extremes.

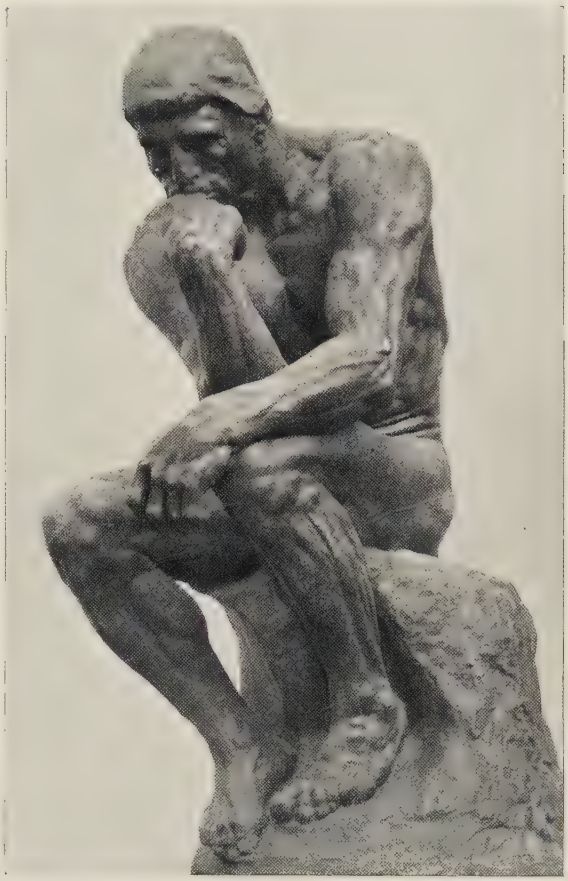


Fig. 688. — Rodin. The Thinker. *(Panthéon.)* Paris.

Other contemporary sculptors have also followed the inspiration of classical antiquity, but without Rodin's genius. In Germany Max Klinger, besides his Greek poses (figs. 693 and 694), has also carved mutilated statues. His best work is, perhaps, a seated figure of Beethoven in which he employed marbles of various colors as in the Roman portraits of the decadence.

Two other European sculptors require mention, even in this brief sum-



Fig. 689. — Rodin. The Kiss.

mary of Nineteenth-century Art. One is the Russian Prince Trubetzskoi who had an extraordinary faculty of catching the movement of his sitter (fig. 695). His smaller statues, usually bronzes, are portrayals of what we might call dynamic character. It is a fleeting aspect, a whole life concentrated in the gesture of a moment.

The other is Meunier, the poet-sculptor of the industrial laborer. He was a native of Belgium and most of his works are now to be found in Brussels. He gives us peasants with bent backs, coal and iron miners of Flanders and Northern France and the workers of the great metal industries. He was a great artist who loved and understood them all. In those overworked bodies and clouded brains we see the desires and sufferings of a spirit like our own. Meunier was not merely a socialistic philanthrophist but also a great sculptor with a marvelous technique (fig. 696).

In America, the erection of new cities and parks, and the general prosperity of the land compensate for the lack of tradition. The demand for statues and commemorative monuments was so great that a school had, of necessity, to be produced. Statues of Washington began to be erected very early, for example Brown's Washington in Union Square, New York, and that standing by the Subtreasury in New York, by Ward. Another cause of progress for the American school was the arrival of Italian marble carvers, who came to complete blocks of marble shipped unfinished from Carrara. Some of these excellent *marmorari* took American citizenship and, for a time, Italianized American sculpture.

Nevertheless, the greatest American sculptor of the Nineteenth Century, Saint-Gaudens, was born in Dublin, of a French father and an Irish mother. He studied abroad, in Paris and Italy; yet, notwithstanding this training, his works

are completely American. He took American subjects, such as the "Puritan", but it is chiefly in his statues of Lincoln, at Chicago (fig. 692), and Sherman, at New York, that we realize the spirit of the New World.

Today, American sculptors are legion. Without dealing with the most modern until the next chapter, we have here to mention Lorado Taft, a follower of Saint-Gaudens, and Mrs. Anna Hyatt Huntington, the author of an exquisite and original Jeanne d'Arc.



Fig. 690. — Rodin. The Bronze Age.



Fig. 691. — Rodin. Eve.

We will try now to make a brief summary of Nineteenth-century painting, beginning with the romantic school. It is impossible here to describe the many tendencies and interesting personalities which have followed one another with the rapidity of a pyrotechnic display. The leader of the romantic school of painting was, of course,



Fig. 692. — Saint-Gaudens. Abraham Lincoln. CHICAGO.

Delacroix, but he had a talented precursor in Théodore Géricault. A native of Rouen, the latter studied in Paris and at the age of twenty-one in 1812 he exhibited an officer of Chasseurs mounted on a spirited horse which caused a sensation. This picture, now in the Louvre, is still an object of interest, but at that time, when French painting was yet dominated by David, Géricault's canvas represented a very radical departure. He continued to paint animated and romantic scenes such as the Wounded Cuirassier and the Raft of the Medusa, also in the Louvre (figure 697). Toward the end of his short life he went to London where he remained several years. He died in Paris in 1824, but not before he had dealt a deathblow to the neoclassical painting of David and his pupils.

Delacroix put the new movement firmly on its feet. Born at Charenton near Paris, he was encouraged by Gros and Géricault to devote himself to painting. In 1822 he exhibited his Dante and Virgil which was bought by the State for 1200 francs and is now in the Louvre. This was followed by the Massacre of Scio (fig. 698), the Taking of Constantinople by the Christians, the Interior of a Harem and others of a similarly romantic character. In 1845 he was given the Chamber of Deputies to decorate and the Library of the Luxembourg in 1847. Although Delacroix had many detractors, he had also numerous friends, and his life did not lie along the unhappy lines of those of most revolutionary innovators and reformers.

The neoclassical faction of the Beaux Arts naturally criticized Delacroix until his death. It is said that Ingres, who was eighteen years older than Delacroix, met the latter one day in the Salon where both were exhibiting their works. "Be careful with your drawing, M. Delacroix," remarked Ingres; "drawing is honesty in art." To Merimée, Dumas, George Sand and Musset, Delacroix was a great artist. Baudelaire, too, glorifies him in admirable verses. Delacroix died in 1863.

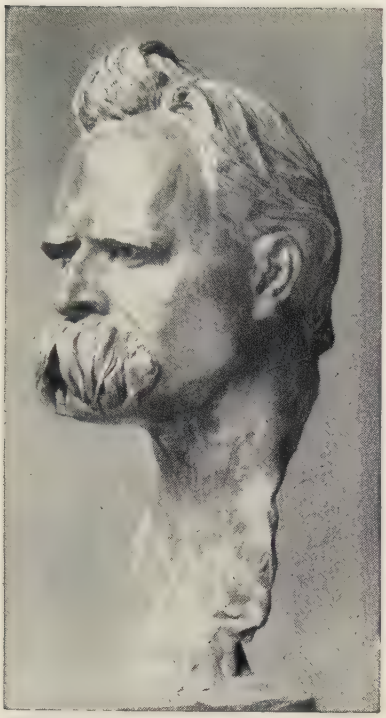


Fig. 693. — Klinger. Bust of Nietzsche.

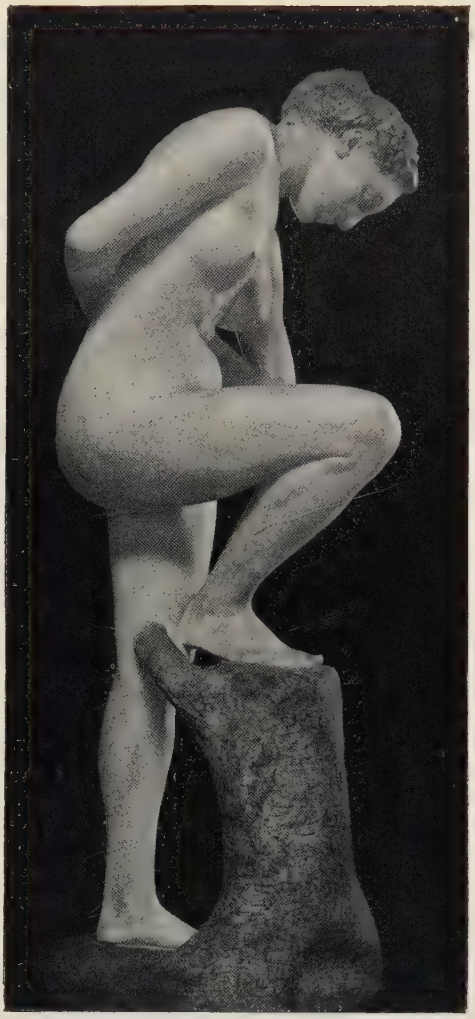


Fig. 694. — Max Klinger. Girl at the Bath.

Although he was sixty-five years old, he was still full of new plans and ambitions. His pupils, however, hardly carried on his work. We hear little of Ary Scheffer, Horace Vernet or even Delaroche today, although the Princes in the Tower by the last named is still popular in reproductions. The impressionists considered themselves to be the heirs of Delacroix, but as a matter of fact their esthetic principles were very different.

Let us see of what the revolution of Delacroix consisted. In the first place there is his subject matter. He no longer painted goddesses and nymphs, but living human beings, and he represented them in a moment of great feeling under the pretext of a historical event. In the same way Victor Hugo and Schiller took Mary Stuart, Don Carlos or William Tell as the subjects of their romantic dramas. It was not his idea to produce beautiful nymphs like Ingres' La Source or deliberated compositions like David's apotheosis of Napoleon, but rather pain, hate and intense feeling of various sorts. And what fatal consequences that word, sentiment, was to have! The great power of Delacroix was

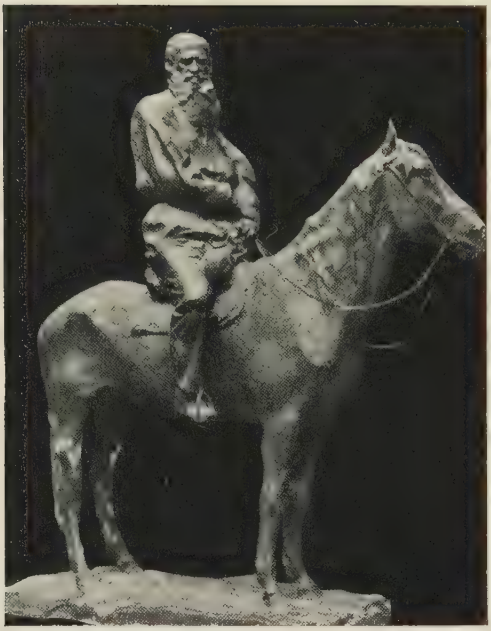


Fig. 695. — Trubetzkoi. Portrait of Tolstoi.

Gospel of St. James was to Giotto the means of his expression of deep feeling. Delacroix was the father of pictorial romanticism and a man of penetration. In his writings on artistic subjects we find much that reveals the bent of his mind and the genuine worth of his talent.

Delacroix was an enthusiastic painter of life itself, of the vivid and tragic realities of existence. His painting was expressive and strong. His art was to bring to all Europe a liberation of the spirit and open anew the door on the path leading to a true communion with nature and a genuine contact with passion and reality.

But not all the temperaments of the time were disposed to receive the sound influence of the art of Delacroix. Before these tempests of tragedy, lakes of blood and bad angels, as Baudelaire put it, many a spirit looked back with longing to the idyllic pictures of the Eighteenth Century or the cool tranquility of classical and reasonable art.

in his coloring. Ingres' formula, that what is well drawn is painted well enough, was not sufficient. Like Veronese, Delacroix painted historical scenes and could seek various color effects in the costumes. Coloring was not such a great matter to David, but to Delacroix it was everything.

Breaking abruptly with the academic classicism, Delacroix opened a new way for art. Pictorial art was to be felt and not merely thought out. Delacroix took mediaeval subjects more as a reaction against the academic rules of the neoclassicists than for any other reason. Dante and Shakespeare furnished him with subjects for his most beautiful and moving compositions, just as the Apocryphal



Fig. 696. — Meunier. The Smith.



Fig. 697. — Géricault. The Raft of the Medusa. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

The modern battle picture offers something more than a great spectacle; it is a human incident at once painful and anecdotal. Nineteenth-century art, imbued by romanticism and the social instinct, was interested in the soldier as a human being. It is no longer the triumphant king nor an authentic panorama of an army made up of anonymous units, but a dying soldier pressing his hand to his bleeding breast, fields devastated by passing armies and the dead beneath a pitiless sky lying on the blood-soaked ground. We see a military encampment where sleeping soldiers dream of victory. In this tendency, inaugurated by Gros, his pupils, Charlet and Raffet, were especially successful. They were followed by Cogniet and Meissonier. The latter's pupils, Neuville and Detaille, became very popular painters of military scenes.

Meissonier worked on those lines. But he painted not only battle scenes but also genre pictures; the latter were evidently a return to Eighteenth-century tastes which still lingered. The influence of this anectotal school on European painting was as powerful as it was detrimental. Nevertheless, in spite of the mediocrity of the subjects chosen, we find some very estimable work where the artist has not slavishly subjected himself to the theme (fig. 699).



Fig. 698. — Delacroix. The Massacre of Scio. *(Louvre.)*

The first violent reaction against artificial and romantic subjects for paintings is personified in Courbet. Born at



Fig. 699. — Meissonier. 1814.

the beginning of the century, of a middle class family, very strong, broad-shouldered, and heavy, cynical, with no respect for traditions nor classes, he refused governmental decorations, belonged to the *communards,* was forced to leave France after the fall of the Commune, and died at exile in Switzerland. A man like this, gifted with a strong vision for reality, naturally could enjoy only things as they are, and react with fury against the artificially composed subjects of past and distant scenes. He even made no effort to create harmonious effects of color. The impressionists who followed him reacted against the blackness in his paintings; nevertheless his work was a great step toward liberation from that other calamity, romantic falsification. Courbet, himself, did not mince words. "Our century will not recover from the fever of imitation by which it has been laid low. Phidias and Raphael have hooked themselves into us; the galleries should remain closed for twenty years, so that the moderns could at last begin to see with their own eyes." Of course, a man making these utterances and painting as he did exasperated the manufacturers of pretty canvases of battles and idyllic episodes. Meissonier said, in a rage before a painting of Courbet: "Gentlemen, let us forget that he exists." But the paintings of Courbet are today in the Louvre beside those of Meissonier, and with more right to be there than those of the latter (fig. 700).

Subsequent to this period of historical painting, battles, ideal abstractions and realistic scenes, we note the appearance of a school which was to bring new life to painting. These were objective landscape painters who had tired of the imaginative attempts which were taking the artist farther and farther away from the clear and truthful mirror of nature. These men were no longer moved by the declamatory gestures of the pupils and followers of Delacroix or by turbaned



Fig. 700. — Courbet. A Funeral at Ornans. *(Louvre.)*

Moors, scimitars and sabres, no matter how good the coloring was. The world and man were the only things of interest; the stars of the sky, the beautiful universe and the conscience of the human soul. The discovery of the spiritual, we might almost say human, beauty of a landscape was one of the purest triumphs of modern times. The English claim that the inaugurator of French landscape painting was Constable, who exhibited a number of pictures at Paris in 1824. Constable's influence, however, is doubtful; for that matter we also have precedents in French art, such as Claude Lorrain and Watteau. But before Constable landscape had never been appreciated in this manner for its own sake. Historical landscape was mentioned among the various classes of pictures determined by the treatise writers. Prior to the romantic revolution the recipe was this: "In the foreground put a mass of trees on one side and on the other, a mountain crowned with ruins. In the centre there should be a lake or a river which loses itself in the horizon. On the level ground should be some shepherds or nymphs, a funeral procession or a stately cavalcade." The idea was that "a landscape without inhabitants is not habitable." In his earlier work Corot seems to have respected this formula more or less, and on his Italian journey he almost always painted nymphs or shepherds amid the foliage. Corot, the founder of the modern school of landscape painters, was born in Paris in 1796. His parents were well-to-do bourgeois and furnished him with abundant means to pursue his career. He was of a generous nature and always ready to help his friends. In his old age he was called Papa Corot; he died at the age seventy-nine still dreaming of landscapes. On his death-bed he said: "I have never seen anything so beautiful," and he moved his finger as though to paint it. Corot was educated among the historical landscape painters, but he went to Rome where he was converted. Italy, ever the creator of great men, transformed this famous artist as well. Upon his return to France he spent his time alternately at Paris and at Ville d'Avray, where he had a country home and where he observed nature. In his pictures we feel the freshness of the air; indeed, his sensitiveness to atmospheric effects is, perhaps, the most marked characteristic of his work. He has



Fig. 701. — Corot. Landscape.
(Metropolitan Museum.) New York.

described his own sensations when he turned to the creation of one of his landscape paintings. "The painter," he says, "rises at three o'clock in the morning, goes out to the fields and seats himself, waiting and watching beneath a tree. Little can be distinguished as yet... Soon the atmosphere begins to quiver and a breeze comes up and awakens things; first a ray of sunshine, and then another and another. The flowers open. The birds begin their trills... Nothing was seen, and suddenly the whole world is before the painter. The sun comes up; everything gleams, but softly and gently. And the painter paints, paints! In the distance the outlines of the hills are lost in the ether. The birds fly hither and thither. A peasant passes mounted on a white nag and is lost in the narrow path... And the painter paints, paints! Soon there is too much light, we see too many things; nothing remains free to the imagination, everything is so precise... The artist goes to the farm-house. Everyone



Fig. 702. — Rousseau. The Path. New York.

works; he rests and dreams of what he saw in the morning. He dreams of his painting! Tomorrow he will paint his dream" (fig. 701).

What Corot so vaguely outlines was earnestly applied by the painters of the Barbizon School. They devoted their lives to landscape painting. Why live in Paris, when one could contemplate nature and enjoy its beauty there in the little village of Barbizon at one end of the lovely forest of Fontainebleau? Théodore Rousseau and Troyon had already been there some time when the former wrote: "A new comrade has arrived who has color, movement and expression, a true painter." This was Jean François Millet.



Fig. 703. — Millet. The Sower. *(Louvre.)*

The friends at Barbizon, men like Daubigny, Dupré, Troyon, soon learned what Millet represented. They themselves had only gone half-way. Diaz was still painting landscapes with nymphs and foliage after the manner of Corot. Rousseau was still a romantic, choosing a tree or a path as the romantic painters chose a theme; he was called the Delacroix of landscape (fig. 702). The newly arrived Millet interpreted the life of the fields with a lofty realism. He was the true painter of the humble peasant. Millet and Rousseau were neighbors at Barbizon and became close friends. Rousseau, whose means were somewhat more ample, often came to the aid of his fellow-artist, and when they died, only a few years apart, they were buried beside one another. Corot, who survived them, settled a pension on Millet's widow. We have a great many interesting stories of the genuine affection that existed among



Fig. 704. — Millet. The Angelus. *(Louvre.)*



Fig. 705. — Regnault. General Prim. *(Louvre.)*

those artists who did their work far from the cafés of Paris.

Millet thought that he felt something in the landscape which one does not perceive from the senses. He said that when he came home at night he could hear the trees speaking. "I do not understand what they say, but that is my own fault. Voilà tout! On another occasion he wrote: "I wish you might feel the terrors and the splendor of the night... the silence and the murmuring of the air! Then it is that one is conscious of the infinite."

And yet, besides this cosmic feeling for the landscape, Millet could paint also man. "It is the human side of art that interests me most," he said, "and it has never presented its happier aspect to me. I do not know where it is; I have not seen it yet. The happiest thing I know is calmness, the silence of the woods and fields."

Millet was not an extraordinary colorist. His painting is somewhat opaque and earthy. "Millet produces his admirable effects with a rude and imperfect manner," wrote Arsene Alexandre. Baudelaire also criticized the subjects of his pictures saying that he gave so great a prominence to the somberness and dullness of his peasants that it arouses the resentment of the beholder. "They seem to say to us, 'we are the disinherited and the only ones who produce anything by our toil." There is some truth in all this, but Millet was seeking for some-



Fig. 706. — Rosa Bonheur. The Horse Fair. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* New York.



Fig. 707. — Fantin-Latour. Portrait of Manet. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

thing which was indifferent to the sensation of color and could never be understood by a Bohemian like Baudelaire. He wrote, "I try not to have things look as if chance had brought them together, but as if they had a necessary bond between themselves. I want the people I represent to look as if they really belonged to their station, so that imagination cannot conceive of their ever being anything else." Millet devoted himself to the poor peasant; someone had to immortalize the humble worker overwhelmed with toil (fig. 703). In one of his pictures two of them are cutting a tree, and their legs are bent with their efforts. In another he represents a poor laborer leaving his work at nightfall. He is so weary he can hardly stand. Again we see two gleaners working in the blazing sun; the shoulder of one pains her so that she can do no more. In the Angelus (fig. 704), take the two well known figures out in the field listening to the distant bell. What a creation! Let Baudelaire say what he will; Millet's peasants live intensely and have their own compensations. They are not blind and brutal working machines; they, too, enjoy this world of ours. Then there are the two women watching a flock of geese pass. How they breathe in the soft and aromatic autumn air! Two others seem to be in ecstasy over the peace of the country. Surely Virgil was mistaken when he told the rustics, "If you only realized your own happiness!," and thought them incapable of perceiving the world about them. Millet's countryman enjoys the landscape in a different way from that of the intellectual, it is true, but unless they go to the city and lose this spirit, the shepherd and the farmer have their own feeling for beauty. At least, so thought Millet. "They think they will make me retreat and convert me to the art of the salons. Ah no! I was born a countryman and a countryman I will die. I will paint what I feel." And yet when Millet died in 1875 there were already signs that he was beginning to be appreciated. From that time on his fame has steadily increased. His Angelus, which the painter sold with difficulty for 2,500 francs, was again sold in 1890 for 800,000 and nobody could say how much is worth today.

Not only Millet but all the other painters of the Barbizon School were either



Fig. 708. Manet. Déjeuner sur l'herbe. *(Musée des Arts Décoratifs.)* PARIS.



Fig. 709. — E. Manet. Olympia. *(Louvre.)*



Fig. 710. — E. Manet. The lady with the parrot. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* New York.



Fig. 711. — Whistler. Portrait of Duret. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* New York.

decried or ignored by the chattering crowds that frequented the Salons of the Second Empire. But the reaction against the pictures of Delacroix and his pupils made itself felt in the other artists, such as Regnault, the great portraitist (figure 705); Rosa Bonheur, the inimitable painter of animals (fig. 706); Jules Breton, another painter of peasants, and the portrait painters, Bonnat Carolus Duran, Daubigny and Fantin-Latour (fig. 707).

While the landscape artists and naturalists were attacking the false idealism of the romantic school, another more advanced group was working on a new technique and a new theory of color and light. They were called impressionists, a term originating in a picture by Monet entitled "An Impression" which was exhibited in 1863, in the Salon des Refusées. The new school was founded upon the principle of the most exact reproduction of nature possible. It was not to be nature altered or improved in the studio of the artist, but light and color in all their natural crudity. It was the same tendency that we find in the so-called naturalism of Zola and his friends. This pictorial naturalism attempted to justify itself by the physical theories of light and color as popularized in elementary science. The impressionists declared that there was no such thing as color in itself; the color of an object depends on the manner in which the light is



Fig. 712. — Whistler. Portrait of Carlyle.
(Museum of Glasgow.)

received, its intensity and the refraction of the colors of neighboring objects. The retina perceives it according to the relative proximity of one color to another, and at the side of a simple color the retina has a tendency to see its complement. Shadow, therefore, is never a lack of color, but another color, and it has the tendency to take on the complement of the color of the lighted portion of the object. So much for color. As for form, that does not exist either. There are only masses of color, and even these are not uniform but are the accumulation of colored spots. There is, then, no such thing as outline; one must paint in spots and brush strokes so that they will produce upon the eye the effect of nature. In the matter of technique the impressionists were also revolutionaries. Some considered it absurd to mix the colors on the palette to produce halftones; this would make the mineral colors opaque. The thing to do was to combine them in the retina of the eye, setting the brush-strokes on the canvas in such a manner that the simple colors would fuse when observed from the proper distance.

It cannot be denied that some of these observations are quite true, and that modern painters have taken advantage of the experiments of the impressionists, whatever school they belong to.

The trouble with the impressionists was their lack of expression. Desiring to be painters, and nothing more than that, they carried their indifference to physical and spiritual beauty altogether too far. Take a man with a pipe and a glass of beer; there you had a subject for a picture; as long as the harmony of the coloring was beautiful, that was all you wanted. Unfortunately, too, the colors employed by some of the impressionists have darkened in the course of time, and



Fig. 713. — Sisley. Country church on a rainy day.



A. Renoir. Lisa. The lady with the parasol (1867). *(Folkwang Museum.)*
HAGEN. (Germany.)



Fig. 714. — Claude Monet. Church at Vernon.

you only have left the form, which did not amount to much, and a reminder of the arguments which this movement provoked. Take, for example, Manet's Déjeuner sur l'herbe which raised such a scandal when it was exhibited in 1863 (fig. 708). Then there is his Olympia which aroused so much derision a year or two later. It was later hung in the Louvre, where it is still more or less of a scandal in the eyes of many. This work, however, has not faded (fig. 709). Manet's sincerity, faith and enthusiasm made his fellow impressionists consider him the leader of the movement. At times his indifference to much that would have beautified the picture becomes a source of regret, but he dissected the light with such passion that we forgive him everything for his devotion to his ideal. After him came Sisley (fig. 713), Pissarro (fig. 715), Renoir (fig. 717 and Plate LII) and the American Mary Cassatt (fig. 716). We now come to Claude Monet, the famous landscapist (fig. 714), and Degas who was, perhaps, the most profound personality of the group. That which was unpleasant at times in Manet becomes agreeable in Monet and Degas. Monet did no more than apply the principles of impressionism to landscape painting. Here the new theories of light and color proved most acceptable. Degas painted Parisian scenes and delighted in nocturnal light effects with musicians and dancers amid canvas scenery (fig. 718). For a time the American Whistler was associated with the French impressionists. He was a painter of genius, perhaps the best of the moderns, and reminds us at times of Velasquez (figs. 711 and 712 and Plate LIII).



Fig. 715. — Pissarro. The Boulevard Montmartre.

Whistler also owes much to the Japanese, whose simplicity and bold effects he sometimes tried to imitate. Although he lived most of his life in London, with long stays in Paris, his independent stroke of brush and his flippancy when he spread



Fig. 716.—Mary Cassatt. Mother and daughter. *(Metropolitan Museum.)* NEW YORK.

his colors, make him a painter unidentified with any particular locale. Whistler may not be considered an American artist, but he certainly is not European. His fights with Ruskin prove that he could not be absorbed by the Victorians; neither could he abide them. It is hardly necessary to remark how far the impressionists had got beyond the thematic studies of the older schools of painting. Wherever light vibrates, there was the painter; consequently the made up scenes of the previous schools of painting had disappeared like unreal fancies of the brain. We can hardly attribute the inauguration of the movement to any one of the four great masters, Manet, Monet, Degas and Renoir, who were its outstanding exponents. Manet, under the influence of Courbet and the Spanish painters, did no more than open the door to the realities of color; Monet made a profound and devoted study of them. Degas expressed his enjoyment of light, the melancholy of modern Paris in its gray light, while Renoir sang the youth of its women and their fresh coloring. Cézanne finally came to represent a new aspect of impressionism which has exercised an enormous influence upon the latest development of painting. Away from the tumult of Paris in a quiet corner of Provence and with his Mediterranean outlook, he could not but be very different from the impressionist masters. His objectivism went further than that of the painters of the North, for he felt profoundly the substantiality of things, their proto-realism, the reality of their volume and quality. The clear sky of Provence, free of mists, presented each object to his eyes in such a manner that it was never a mere spot in a sea of light, but a formal and substantial individual object. The clear atmosphere gave it a well defined outline. This is the Paul Cézanne who painted simple landscapes and hardy figures. It is from him that modernistic structure is derived. Today Cézanne is regarded as something



Fig. 717.—Renoir. The Dance.

more than merely one of a number of impressionists; he is considered the founder of a new school. We shall say more of him in the next chapter.



Fig. 718. — Degas. Ballet-girls.

Parallel to impressionism, we find an idealistic reaction ensuing which still endures today. The most significant exponent of this trend in painting was the decorative painter, Puvis de Chavannes. Born of a noble and well-to-do Lyons family, he was highly educated. Having decided to devote his life to painting, he went to Paris and later travelled in Italy. In 1861 he exhibited his first pictures, War and Peace, which, with their companion-pieces, Labor and Repose, are now in the museum at Amiens. He never abandoned his pale and tranquil style. "I confess," he says, "that sober lands, clouded skies and solitary plains please me most. A blue sky absorbs too much; the brighter the sun, the more obscure is the landscape." Puvis de Chavannes was not a great colorist, and he defended this deficiency saying that a decorative painting should never stand out from the wall with striking colors. His own work hardly justifies his claim; Veronese and Tintoretto do not need to envy the cold gray tones of Puvis de Chavannes. The great danger, too, lies in the ease with which these pale shades may be imitated by less talented decorators, men who are lacking in the vast comprehension of the world, the good taste and the excellent drawing of the master. Some of the subjects of his compositions are very intricate. Take his hemicycle at the Sorbonne, in which we see a woman looking at figures representing research in Science, Art and Letters. Other works are purely allegorical like his Ave Picardia Nutrix at Amiens and The Rhone and The Saone at Lyons, as well as his Four Seasons in the same city (fig. 720). A few times Puvis de Chavannes abandoned wall decoration to paint small pictures with a more or less affected idealism. Among these are the Beheading of John the Baptist, the Family of Fisher-Folk and the Song of the Shepherd (fig. 719). Nevertheless, as time goes on the work of Puvis de Chavannes is more and more appreciated. Even the postimpressionists admired him. Gauguin was anxious for him to see his pictures; Rodin in his last writings called him "the greatest artist of our time." He praised especially "his sublime landscapes in which a sanctified Nature seems to know only a loving humanity, at once wise and august." These are Rodin's own words, and we must recognize the fact that he was right in so characterizing the landscapes of Puvis de Chavannes. But he himself recognized that it was another



Fig. 719. — Puvis de Chavannes.
The song of the shepherd.
(Metropolitan Museum.) NEW YORK.

nature, another world. This accords with the manner in which Puvis de Chavannes worked. "An hour spent in a spot which pleases me," he said, "fills my brain with images for a long time." When he painted the famous woods in his great fresco in the Sorbonne, it is well known that his inspiration was a pine branch which he had in his studio.

Modern idealism in the field of painting had other inaugurators besides Puvis de Chavannes, men like Ary Renan, Gustave Moreau, a subtile and refined colorist, Bastien Lepage and Dagnan Bouveret. They all combined the enthusiasm for landscape and technique of the impressionists with idealism in the modern sense of the word. Henry Martin was a sincere and talented decorator. Besnard was also an impressionist with ideals, and finally we have the great Eugene Carrière, the painter of family life in all its tenderness, whose technique is an interesting sfumato (fig. 721).

We have tried to cover the various changes of French painting, for Paris has unquestionably been the most important artistic centre in Europe during the Nineteenth Century. But in the other countries vigorous personalities have appeared which deserve special mention. We might mention first the Italian Segantini, a sort of Millet in his coloring and a spiritual artist who painted the summits of the Alps and the pastures and shepherds beneath them.

In the Low Countries we find anew the influence of David in a school of painting which carried on the local anecdotal traditions of the Eighteenth Century. Later, realism appeared in the form of picturesque anecdotes, and the expansion of the naturalistic and impressionistic movement produced a modern school of painters among whom the most prominent were Courtens, Gilsone, Evenepoel, Ensor, Knopff, an idealist who was inspired by the



Fig. 720. — Puvis de Chavannes. Autumn.
(Museum of Lyons.)



Whistler. Portrait of Miss Alexander. *(Alexander Collection.)* LONDON.

English Pre-Raphaelites, and Eugene Laermans whose pictures of humble life are filled with a profound compassion (fig. 723).



Fig. 721. — E. Carrière. The Family.

All during the Nineteenth Century Germany echoed with more or less intensity the artistic tendencies of France, although here painting took on a certain national character, particularly during the period of anecdotal pictures. Von Schwind, a painter of mediaeval scenes, was the head of the romantic movement here. Inspired by Dürer and Holbein, another romantic painter was Rethel, whose woodcuts of the Revolution of 1848 under the name of the Dance of Death are interesting from both an artistic and political standpoint. A little earlier we find an idealistic school which developed a sort of Pre-Raphaelism and whose members called themselves Nazarites. They, too, attempted to go back to the early Renaissance and took Perugino, Francia and the young Raphael for their models. Like all who attempt to work upon an intellectual formula, they were cold painters and but mediocre colorists. Their leader was Overbeck who spent his entire life in Rome. Others among them were Cornelius and Schadow.



Fig. 722. — Böcklin. The shepherd's lament.

Historical and military painting also developed in Germany in response to the French movement, and they were animated by the same spirit. The most distinguished exponents of this school were Menzel and Lenbach. Menzel was a sincere and gifted worker, who glorified Prussian history with the brush. His illustrations of the times of Frederick the Great, and even of the Bismarckian era, thrill



Fig. 723. — Laermans. After the day's work.

the hearts of Germans young and old (fig. 724). Lenbach was simply a portrait maker, very necessary in those times of German glory when photography was relatively in its infancy. German museums are still proud of Lenbach's live and expressive faces of the rulers (fig. 725).

Although the foregoing German artists followed the paths marked out by the French artists, other novel tendencies were developed. Fritz von Uhde was a true German, and he possessed a realism possible only in a Protestant nation. His rather sensational canvases offered to his public themes from sacred history transported to the settings of his own time. Von Uhde achieved a wide popularity and even came to influence some of the French painters.

Nineteenth-century decorative painting in Germany is strikingly represented by Marees and Leibl, and by the Swiss Arnold Böcklin, a romantic of the first water, whose life was spent between Florence and Basel. An intellectual painter of classical themes, he peopled his canvases with nymphs, sirens and centaurs. Böcklin's is a new and modern paganism. He seems sometimes a classic poet or painter of the times of Theocritus or even Virgil, who has already read Goethe and Shelley. Böcklin's landscapes are very charming, in a perennial spring and life (fig. 722).

The public is still enthusiastic over Böcklin's works. If they seem to strain somewhat for effect, nevertheless they reveal a powerful imagination and an extraordinary knowledge of drawing. Klinger and Von Stuck, too, are men of vigorous personality and continue this tendency.

Northern Europe in the Nineteenth Century has fallen under the influences of both the French and German schools Holland has given us Jongkind. In more



Fig. 724. — Menzel. Richard Wagner at a rehearsal.

recent times Zorn has stood out as a painter of portraits and of popular scenes in the Scandinavian countries. Nevertheless the style of Zorn is so much related to that of Besnard and other French impressionists that he can hardly be considered a Northern painter. Perhaps the most original of the Nineteenth Century Scandinavians is Werenskiold, the illustrator of sagas and Andersen stories (fig. 727).

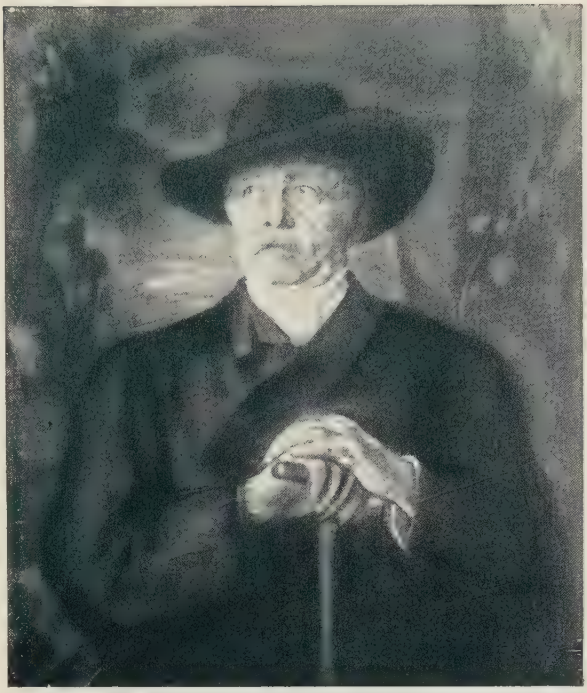


Fig. 725. — Lenbach. Bismarck.

In Russia painting was at first largely French. Some of the mystical and philosophical painters of the Russian school were effective propagandists of the revolutionary movement. Especial mention should be made of Repin (fig. 726) and Vereschagin. The latter painted many pictures in Central Asia; these are so powerful they are said to be as valuable as Russia's territorial conquests in the East. Although other noteworthy artists are not lacking in Russia before the Revolution, they are only the forerunners of the bloom of the present Russian school, which will be dealt with in the last chapter of this book.

During the last half of the Nineteenth Century the most prominent painters in Spain have been Rosales and Fortuny. In both we distinguish an elegance of an anecdotal character such as Meissonier made the style in France. Fortuny in particular stands out as a luminist with his Oriental subjects.

Elsewhere in Spain whe find two modern tendencies which are free from French influences. One is the picturesque school represented by Zuloaga (figure 728). The other is the Valencian luminist school headed by Sorolla (fig. 729), whose work has achieved such success in the United States. To the first group belong most of the artists of Northern and Central Spain, and to the latter, those of Eastern Spain.

In England a school of painting developed independently. Its members seem almost ignorant of what was happening on the other side of the Channel. The precursor of this movement was Turner, that extraordinary landscapist whose work absorbed the attention of an entire generation of English critics. He was born in London in 1775 and he grew up close to the Strand, so he was always



Fig. 726. — Repin. Portrait of Tolstoi. 1901.

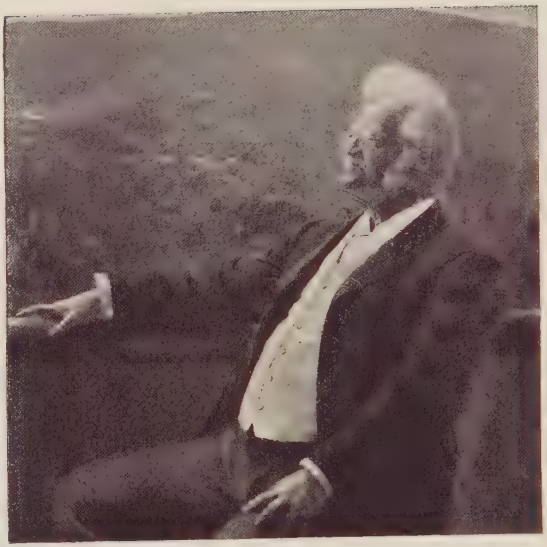


Fig. 727. — Werenskiold, Björnstjerne Björnson.

familiar with the color of London. Even when he travelled in Italy and painted the landscapes of that classic land, the atmosphere of his pictures was that of London on a clear summer day (figs. 730 and 731). Turner was of a solitary disposition. He was jealous not only of his contemporaries but also of his predecessors. He composed his *Liber studiorum* in rivalry of Claude Lorrain's *Liber veritatis*. His biography shows little that was amiable in his character; he lived only to study nature. We can hardly admire him as a man, but only as a strange being who saw spirit in landscape face to face, as Moses talked with God. Turner was not a landscape painter in the ordinary sense of the word; he was a clairvoyant who perceived that which others could not see. A critic once told him that he had never seen a landscape like that, and Turner asked him in reply if did not wish he might see such a one (figs. 730 and 731).

Turner's solitary existence was very different from that of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood that came after him. Ruskin invented this name, which one of them declared was a most apt one. Their idea was to turn back to the days before Raphael, in this one respect: that was to represent things as they were or as they supposed them to have been, but abandoning every convention and rule of painting. They chose this name because the artists of Raphael's time and after abandoned this liberty and subjected themselves to academic rules and conventions. The Pre-Raphaelites had no intention of turning to an archaic and primi-

tive affectation; they desired a freedom that was no longer considered proper. Their doctrine has been very generally misunderstood, and a host of pedantic and affected imitators have discredited the name, Pre-Raphaelite, just as Raphael's followers did the name of the master.



Fig. 728. — Zuloaga. My cousins. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

The real Pre-Raphaelites perhaps were not great painters but they were earnestly concerned and of writing than by their paintings. The man who was worshipped as the leader of the school, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, was the son of an Italian teacher at Oxford and an English lady. He discovered his long-sought type of feminine beauty in an apprentice modiste of London, a certain Miss Agnes Siddal (fig. 732), who was endowed with wonderful lips. This seems to have very little connection with painting, but Miss Siddal's mouth became classic in England. Rossetti repeated her face in all his pictures, and so did his follower, Burne-Jones. When she died, Rossetti, who had married her two years before, put in her coffin a manuscript of poems, which remained in the grave for ten years. Finally, the master consented to let the brotherhood exhume them. It is unnecessary to say that the public, which knew the story,

for beauty. The Pre-Raphaelites stirred England more by their manner of living



Fig. 729. — Sorolla. Pareja valenciana.
(Museum of Barcelona.)



Fig. 730.— Turner. The Fighting Téméraire towed to her last berth. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

bought up the edition in a few days. One of the company, speaking of Rossetti, says: "There was a vagueness, a wistfulness, and a dreamy langor in much of his early work. He lived in a world of ideality, and *followed the gleam,* as Tennyson puts it. He was not a copyist, or imitator of reality, not an artistic photographer; but bringing the light of the ideal into all that he saw of the real, in that glorious atmosphere his pictures were made, and etherialized. He always strove after the ideal, caring little for the actual. And yet he was so natural, so true to nature at its highest, that in him the two tendencies were superlatively combined." This praise from one of his companions may be taken as the judgment of the whole school. What does he mean by "nature at its highest?" In the case of the Pre-Raphaelites it simply means sophisticated pictorial and literary concoctions. Burne-Jones said: "I was born at Birmingham, but Assisi is my true birthplace." Still, this trick of a second birth does not often work in painting. Courbet, by this time, must have objected to Burne-Jones that there is plenty of beauty in Birmingham and London for a man with open eyes.

Nevertheless, the Pre-Raphaelite movement produced some good. In those arid days of the Victorian age England found that the brotherhood supplied her with images that could be nicely framed to cover wall space. Burne-Jones provided the girlhood of the British Empire with



Fig. 731.—Turner. Landscape. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.



Fig. 732. — Rossetti. Agnes Siddal.



Fig. 733. — Burne-Jones. Vespertina Quies.

mystical knights, and delicate maidens from the Celtic legends (fig. 733). Hunt, Millais, and Watts painted stories that everybody enjoyed because they were easy to understand (figs. 734 and 735).

The second, and perhaps most important, benefit of the Pre-Raphaelite movement was to encourage the efforts of William Morris to restore beauty in ordinary workmanship. The former impassible gap between art, great art, and the crafts, was destroyed by the preaching and example of William Morris. He was an artist and philosopher, and even had very definite ideas on government. He declared himself an anarchist and believed that by beauty and art all men shall be brothers and free. He struggled to raise the standing of all applied arts, which at this time, in England, were in an appalling condition. He had a printing plant, called Kelmscott Press, where only hand presses were employed. The Morris prints are comparable in beauty to the best work of the Sixteenth Century. In the other arts, stained glass, fabrics, tapestry, wall papers, his influence was capital. He succeeded in interesting not only the architects, Webb, Baillie-Scott, Newton, but the whole army of decorators as well. Meier-Graefe says that Morris and his culture were purely English, but we may add that England has received from Morris more than she gave him.

When the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood faded out, the English artists started to think, whether it were not sane to return to the glorious tradition of portrait and landscape painters headed by Reynolds and Constable. Since then, and up to the present generation, the English exhibitions have presented an excellent quality but very little variety. Portraits of lords and ladies, meadows, cottages, and mills, exquisitely colored, fill the salons, with the only exceptions of the *artificially colored* Greeks and Romans of Alma Tadema and



Fig. 734. — Holman Hunt.
The Light of the World.



Fig. 735. — Watts. Hope.

Lord Leighton. Among the last painters of the Nineteenth-century school we have to mention Lavery and Orpen. Today a new generation headed by Augustus John seems definitely willing to enter with courage the European current (figs. 736 and 737).

In America the Nineteenth-century artists made the initial mistake of not following the tradition of the Colonial and Revolutionary time, when men of the calibre of Stuart, Copley and Trumbull worked in Boston and Philadelphia. After a period of twenty-five years, almost absolutely barren, a group of landscape painters, called the Hudson River school, appeared around New York. They in turn were succeeded by a group whose greatest exponent is George Inness. He visited France, coming in contact with the landscape painters of the Barbizon school, and he was particularly drawn to the work of Corot (fig. 738). Other Americans went to Germany and brought home the historical and composite style of the Dusseldorf and Munich painters. A few of these Germano-American canvases, such as that of Washington crossing the Delaware, by Leutze, are still very handy for decorating the walls of high schools and custom houses of the United States.

Another American landscape painter who needs to be remembered in a book of this type is Winslow Homer. Born in 1836 in Boston, and very little nifluenced by his flying trips to Europe, he is the painter of the rough Maine



Fig. 736.—Lavery. Polyhymnia. *(Museum of Modern Art.)* Rome.



Fig. 737.—Augustus John. Madame Suggia. *(Tate Gallery.)* London.

coasts. He gives excellently the impression of the misty surface of the water, the powerful waves, and the tension of life of the fishermen. The Atlantic has found its expression in this man of the New World.

The best features of Whistler are repeated in Sargent. Born in Florence and living most of his life in London, he was nevertheless quite American in his brushwork, so sharp and decided as to be almost violent. In his portraits he first followed Velasquez (fig. 740). Finally, he was carried away by the charming elegance of the English portrait makers, and Sargent may be considered a second Lawrence (fig. 741). He died in 1925. Some years before his death he attempted the *Grand Style,* in the decorations of the Boston Public Library, which can hardly be considered successful.

Unfortunately, space is lacking for detailed consideration of such admirable figures as Albert P. Ryder, Thomas Eakins, J. Alden Weir, Abbott Thayer, William M. Chase, Maurice Prendergast, Robert Henri, Homer Martin, Alexander H. Wyant, and John Lafarge.

Finally, the New York group produced a complete American artist in George Bellows. He painted the most significant subjects of the great city and the district around it: the crowded parks, the slums, the beaches, the ring, the revival meetings, all expressed with frank and unsophisticated compositions (fig. 739). Bellows continued to grow in reputation and mastery to the end of his life, in 1925. If he had lived a few more years, he would have been the leader of a new school. His keenness of construction and line became most admi-



Fig. 738. — Inness. Moonlight. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

rable in his later pictures.

Perhaps as important as the great paintings is the work of the magazine illustrators, cartoonists, and poster designers of the Nineteenth Century. Especially the French were masters of irony, possessing a power of line to be compared only with that of the painters of the Greek vases, or with the great modern satirists such as Hogarth and Goya. The greatest of these is without doubt the Marseillais H. Daumier, associated with the impressionist group (fig. 742). Other great draughtsmen are Guys and Toulouse-Lautrec. After them the names of Forain, Grasset, and Steinlen must at least be mentioned.

To resume, there is no doubt that the Nineteenth Century was extraordinarily concerned with Art. An enormous effort to determine the exact nature of beauty—artistic beauty—was made by critics and philosophers. The artists, too, attacked the same problem, from the angle of technique and methods of expression. The Nineteenth Century is a period of Aesthetics, but the results are rather disappointing. From Hegel to Tolstoi, and from Delacroix to very Rodin, little was made clear about the essence of Art, and the works, themselves, do not commend very favorably the masters who produced them. How much of this effort will survive is hard to determine. It is, however, a bad sign, that so many artists of the Nineteenth Century condemned all of their contemporaries except those of their own school. Let them, for the moment, be their own judges.



Fig. 739. — Bellows. Love of Winter. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.



Fig. 740. — Sargent. Portrait of Mrs. Dyer.
(Art Institute.) CHICAGO.



Fig. 741. — Sargent. Mrs. Swinton.
(Art Institute.) CHICAGO.

Summary. — The most interesting feature of Nineteenth-century romantic architecture is the rehabilitation of the Gothic as both a rational style and one adapted to the requirements of modern times. This neo-Gothic style was followed by various ill-starred attempts to deliberately create a new architecture. After the romantic period we find at least two great masters of sculpture. These were Rodin and Meunier. A large number of less gifted men also achieved prominence, among them Falguière, Klinger and Trubetzskoi.

In the field of painting the romantic movement was headed by Delacroix. He superseded David's followers, and was especially noted as a great colorist. His romantic and impassioned subjects have always made him popular. Modern naturalism began with the landscapes of Corot who was followed by the Barbizon school, men like Millet and Rousseau. The impressionists continued to follow this trend, proclaiming not only naturalism in subject-matter, but also in technique. Their idea was to avoid half-tones on the canvas itself, allowing the colors to blend in the eye of the beholder. The two great impressionist masters were Manet and Monet, and among the other members of this group we find such painters as Whistler, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir, Degas and Mary Cassatt. After a time impressionism provoked a reaction in the direction of symbolism and idealism. At the head of this movement was Puvis de Chavannes, the famous decorative painter. His subjects are noble ones and his drawing is excellent; his work is somewhat too pale to suit many people who love more vivid painting. With him we find Henry Martin, Maurice Denis and Besnard; Carrière gravitates between the two schools.

In the other European countries the outstanding figures of Nineteenh-century painting were Segantini in Italy, Böcklin in Switzerland, Knopff in Belgium, Von Stuck in Germany, Zuloaga and Sorolla in Spain and the English Pre-Raphaelites, Rossetti, Hunt, Millais, Burne-Jones and Watts. In America, Inness, Homer, Sargent and Bellows.

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Fig. 742.—Daumier. The Way Station.



Fig. 743. — City Hall. Stockholm.

CHAPTER XXI

CONTEMPORARY ART

In the preceding chapters of this work we have told our story objectively, for there has been no space to enter into details of a metaphysical character; however, the reader may be sure that in our swift presentation of fact we have given him contact with the most significant works of art. The typical subjects, the characteristic technique and the chief exponents of each school are all that we have been able to treat in our three volumes. We have had no more pretentious design. But the essential part of the story, the evolution of the human spirit as it manifests itself through art, this the reader must to divine for himself.

We have also avoided discussion of cause and effect as applied to art. The effects may or may not be discerned by the reader. The works of art are there. We cannot help it if they do not speak for themselves. An attempt to trace the causes of artistic beauty seems also a sheer waste of time. In the first chapter of this work we said that art is always an inner reaction to the outer world. A poor definition to be sure, but one which has a signal advantage, for it declares that art is not an imitation of nature, but a thing which originates within the soul, a thing of spiritual reality, different from and almost opposite to the material aspect of perceivable nature.

In our rapid appreciation of the schools of art, the reader has been able to observe that the most interesting feature has been the slight distortion of nature which we sometimes call a way of seeing, which contributes to the vitality, the



Fig. 744. — Cézanne. View of Gardanne.

originality, the personality of the artist. Plato insisted that the artist strive to present something more than the visual appearance of the external world, that he try to achieve the idea or essence of the thing itself. He would be obliged, then, to select, to purify and even to augment and accentuate that which he perceived with the senses. The thought of the German philosophers of the past century was analogous to Plato, and even the positivists agreed with him without perhaps wishing to. Taine in his Philosophy of Art, said thad it was necessary to present everything in its most characteristic aspect, which would compel a selection of our sense perceptions in order to use only the elements which are of trenchant meaning in the thing represented.

With these preliminary words, we believe it will not be difficult for the reader to understand the artistic revolt which we have witnessed since the beginning of the Twentieth Century. It has been mainly a rebellion against the imitation of nature practiced by the impressionists. If the reader will recall the history of art from Napoleonic times to the Great War of 1914, he will remember that at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century it was still required of the artist that he be steeped in a false atmosphere of neo-classicism, concerning himself only with Brutus, Miltiades, Lucretia and Helen, utterly disregarding the agitated world about him. Such absurdity provoked the romantic reaction. It was in the Middle Ages, the Far East, in battles and in artificial paradises that art attempted to discover a world more vital than that of the Greeks and Romans. Then, "Open your eyes and look for yourselves," said Courbet, and the still more violent hyperboles of the impressionists were in order: "We paint anything at all." Saying, like Heraclitus: "Before our God everything is equally beautiful; a heap of rubbish, a barroom table, a street of hovels, everything has color and light." "The main character of a picture is light," said one of the impressionists.

However, the sympathetic reproduction of the phenomena of light can scarcely be called art. Certainly it is not all of art. Among many races, the necessity of reproducing on canvas the rainbow surface of the external world has never been felt at all. Moreover, this light, the main element in impressionism, fades in fifty years.

Above all, why reproduce this superficial aspect of the universe if the photographic camera can produce practically the same results? When Goethe was experimenting with the kaleidoscope, and West and Stuart with the dark

chamber, there still remained the desire that with the help of art the phenomena of light and color that impressed the retina from the exterior could be fixed forever; but in the beginning of the Twentieth Century ortochromatic plates reached perfection, and the cinematographic film with electric condensers achieved light-effects which may also be artistic. Why then, should the artist be a sheer mechanic, repeating exactly the sensations of nature?



Fig. 745. — Gauguin. Te Burao. *(Art Institute.)* Chicago.

Actually, even the realists and impressionists, trying as they did to be disinterested copyists of nature, put much of themselves into their paintings. They loved this luminous world with an uncontrolled passion, and the first effect of every intense love, as Plato observed, is the desire to possess, to absorb and even to dissolve in one's own substance the desired object. The impressionists could not help putting something of their souls into their paintings, although the psychic excesses of the romanticists made them feel a certain shame to acknowledge it.

Little by little the impressionists lost favor. Manet, whose colors had darkened, became tedious; Monet, more brilliant, more ethereal, seemed for a while to be the greatest master of the school; but by the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Renoir, who had appeared to be of the second rank, came definitely to the front. His method was to throw light on the surface, accentuating the shapes by means of colors and reflections of colors, without the use of shadows. In contrast to the almost monochromatic planes of Manet,



Fig. 746. — Gauguin. Squatting woman. *(Worcester Art Museum.)* Mass.



Fig. 747. — Van Gogh. Dr. Gachet.
(Staedel Institute.) FRANKFORT.

this painting of Renoir seemed to be a great innovation. The world was something more than an illusion of colored veils. It was a positive solid thing. The warm rounded figures of Renoir were a refreshing change after the luminous vibration of Sisley, Whistler, Pissarro and Monet. A search was made for the predecessors of Renoir. The drawings of Ingres were *discovered,* a taste for Delacroix developed, and Daumier, who had pretended to be no more than a simple cartoonist of political papers, was elevated to the category of prophet and precursor.

Another impressionist hailed as the chief of a school in the artistic movement of the Twentieth Century was Cézanne, who first exhibited his paintings with Monet and the impressionits in 1874. His importance lay in his ability to treat landscape as Renoir had treated the human body. Cézanne interpreted landscape almost geometrically, in order that everything should retain its true values, not only in color, but also in shape and size, and, we are tempted to say, even in weight and depth. Living as he did in Aix, Provence, with no pursuit save his art, he could divine before the people of Paris that the pictures of the impressionists reproduced only in part the living nature which he saw about him.



Fig. 748. — Van Gogh. The Room, Arles. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

Cézanne was a man of many styles, but the most significant is that of his last period of landscape painting, when he concerned himself with the physical structure of the world before him, with its terraced mountains, with its cubic houses, and with its round trees, as animated as those of Giotto. Cézanne used to say that everything



Vincent Van Gogh. Sun-flowers. *(National Gallery.)* MUNICH.

may be reduced to the sphere, the cylinder and the cone. He was also accustomed to say that we must return to Poussin again, but through nature. These and a thousand other paradoxes of his southern imagination became the banners for as many artistic schools.

Cézanne meant by the now hackneyed phrase of returning to Poussin through nature, that as Poussin had given each detail equal importance in relief, so he and his followers would attempt to give every element of the landscape its true value. In carrying this out, Cézanne did not adopt a naturalistic technique. He did not copy what he saw, but altered it to make it accord with his own more perfect vision. He painted colors, not as they are, but as they should be. Even his form is often impossihle. His lines are twisted,



Fig. 749. - O. Redon. Orpheus. *(Cleveland Museum.)*



Fig. 750. — H. J. Rousseau. La Cascade. *(Art Institute.)* Chicago.



Fig. 751. — Matisse. Lithograph. *(Private Collection.)*

his houses tumble down, but always his distortion is for the purpose of making the landscape quiver as a thing alive. Bernard attributed the irregularity of Cézanne's drawing to an optical disorder. The same has been said for El Greco. But now we realize that these great artists were seeing the exterior world reflected in the visions of the soul (fig. 744).

All the characteristics of contemporary art were in Cézanne. But his life in the south was so isolated and he was deficient in so many respects, particularly in intellectual imagination, that he was not generally appreciated. His paintings had no fable or topic, and to a generation saturated with literature, science and social problems, seemed absurd. Even Puvis de Chavannes dismissed an exhibition of Cézanne in 1895 with a shrug.

Contemporary with Cézanne, and with him considered the creators of modern art, are Gauguin and Van Gogh. Paul Gauguin, in 1883, at the age of thirty-five, deserted the stock-exchange for art. Vincent Van Gogh, a Dutch minister's son, thaught in an English school and preached the Gospel to Belgian coal-miners before his madness seized him and he gave himself up to colors and shapes. Both men, like Cézanne, are perfect types of artists. When possessed of the fever to paint, they renounced everything, family, reputation and comfort. Cézanne inherited money from his father which freed him from economic cares, but the other two were not so fortunate. Their paintings were a generation ahead of pub-



Fig. 752. — Matisse. The Daughter of the Artist. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

lic taste. None liked them, none wanted them. The problem of bare subsistence has never appeared so tragically as in the case of these two great artists. Both refused to condescend to the tactics of Parisian Bohemians. Neither would produce trinkets of commercial value to support them in their more intimate art. They did not paint for the public, and the public was correspondingly cruel to them. The lives of both were a death fight with starvation, in which starvation won. Gauguin attempted to escape famine by exiling himself to the French islands of the Pacific, expecting to find in Tahiti and the Marquesas a hospitality denied him in Europe. The fact that not even in the tropics, where vegetation supplies fruits that should satisfy human needs, could Gauguin



Fig. 753. — Derain. Charcoal Drawing.



Fig. 754. — Utrillo. Street Scene. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.



Fig. 755. — Picasso. The Guitar Player.
(Art Institute.) CHICAGO.

exist by painting alone is a shocking proof of the impossibility for the consummate artist to live in modern times (figs. 745 and 746). A few days before his death in 1903 Gauguin wrote these lines which reveal a still untamed spirit:

"I am on the ground, but I am not beaten. You are mistaken if you believe I am wrong to call myself a savage. I am a savage, and the civilized feel it, for there is nothing in my work which could produce bewilderment save this savage strain for which I am not responsible. It is therefore inimitable. All I have learned from others has been an impediment to me. I know little, but what I know is my own."

We have said that Van Gogh had been a teacher and a missionary. Later in his life, poor food and spiritual isolation to which he was subjected broke his resistance, and after spending several periods in clinics for nervous disorders, he committed suicide in one of them in 1890. His last words were those of one who dies without repenting: "It is more dignified to die while I am fully conscious of what I am doing than to take leave of this world in a state which degrades me."



Fig. 756. — Picasso. The Jugglers.
(Barcelona Museum.)

So it was that modern art started with Cézanne a recluse, Gauguin a savage and Van Gogh a lunatic and a suicide. In education and taste they had little in common. Cézanne did not like the paintings of Gauguin, Van Gogh quarreled with Gauguin in their attempts to work together. But today we see the three marching separately on parallel roads. All tried to interpret nature more deeply than the impressionists. All created landscapes with the help of nature, but not in imitation of it.

When Gauguin was painting with friends in Pont-Aven, Brittany, one of them tells us that they were going to the beach to paint mountains and to the hills to paint the shore. Gauguin would say: "If a tree looks blue to you, paint it as blue as you can. A mile of green is greener

than a half-mile. Why should we not exaggerate on canvas as poets do in metaphors? Affirm even to distortion the curve of a lovely shoulder. Heighten the whiteness of the flesh. Sway the branches that no wind moves."



Fig. 757. — Picasso. The Nymph of the Fountain.

Van Gogh expressed himself more moderately, but in the same vein: "Instead of trying to render exactly what I have before my eyes, I use color more arbitrarily in order to express myself strongly." Another time he says: "I do not mean that I never turn back bodily to nature. By arranging color, adding here and simplifying there, I am frightened to death of losing the accuracy of the form."

Poor Van Gogh! How could he, almost insane, perceive the accuracy of anything? Sometimes, confident that yellow was the color of God, he would paint most of the canvas a furious yellow. Another day he writes: "When I paint direct from nature I always try to seize what is essential by means of line. Then I fill up the defined spaces with simple flat tones..." In short, "no photographic imitation, that is the chief thing" (figs. 747-748).



Fig. 758. — Picasso. Masks. Cubist Style.

The movement was general. In Germany, Austria, and especially Russia efforts were made to return to idealism in any conceivable way. But those who gave the death-blow to impressionism were the cubists. Cézanne had said that everything



Fig. 759.—Dunoyer de Segonzac. River Landscape.

could be reduced to the sphere, the cone and the cylinder. The new group followed his dictum in its most literal sense. The symbol and the interior vision were left behind, and a universe was created entirely of geometric shapes. The originators of the movement, Picasso and Braque, were young men of talent, even of genius, and fortunately were treading prepared ground. The critics ridiculed them and called them mad, but they did not ignore them. "Beat, but hear me."

Some of these cubists, along with Gris and Metzinger, insisted on the reality of simultaneous visions. Unless we exert a great deal of attention, they said, we never see anything from a single point of view. As the cubist forms could intercept themselves, it was possible to present in the same picture an object from many angles.

A little before the Great War the Russian ballet appeared in Paris. It was immediately seized upon by the cubists as a most appropriate form of expression for the period. What, indeed, is the Russian ballet if not painting in movement? The motion of color on the stage, carried by human figures and changed by lights, produced a shifting pictorial effect excellently adapted to the modern feeling. How childish and old seemed previous art! Mendelsohn and Schumann compared with Tchaikowski and Stravinsky appeared to be the George Sands of music. Only Chopin and father Bach had anticipated the artistic necessity of a new age.

Even the very Greeks and Romans became objectionable. What annoying technical perfection! The primitive archaic and geometric products of early

Greece were tolerable, but it was doubtful if a wooden statue cut in planes and elemental shapes by a Negro artist was not superior to the dimpled marble Venuses of the Greeks.

Literature manifested the same need for a new form of expression. In one of the *Eclogues* Virgil pictured a scene at evening when the shadows of the mountains were lengthening across the plain and the smoke from the huts was ascending straight to the sky. His image bears with it an impression of repose, of freshness and moisture. But the modern artist passing by in a motor going sixty miles an hour or in a still faster plane, will only be able to say with Whitman that he wants to put his yap on top of the universe.



Fig. 760. — Modigliani. Double Portrait. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

When cubism began to fatigue even the very cubists, what remained of the experiment was the realization that the artist could paint not only "anything at all," but in "any way at all." Today we are not concerned if a work of art does not reflect the exterior world. Our only concern is that it give us pleasure, that it helps to satisfy our craving for sensation.

Many efforts have been made to explain the situation, and in some respects the critics agree. Roger Fry, for example, the champion of modern art in England, suggests the possibility of a double life, "One the actual life, the other the imaginative life... that the graphic arts are the expression of the imaginary life rather than a copy of the actual life might be guessed from observing children. Children, if left to themselves, never copy what they see, never, as we say, draw from nature, but express with delightful freedom and sincerity the mental images which make up their own imaginative lives." Clive Bell, another exponent of the new art in England, insist on what he calls the *significant forms*. These are forms which have imaginative value and are at the same time representations of real things. "Let no one imagine that representation is bad in itself," says Clive Bell. "A realistic form may be as significant in its place as part of the design as an abstract. But if a representative form has value, it is as form, not as representation. The representative element in a work of art may be or may not be harmful; always it is irrelevant. For to appreciate a work of art we need bring with us nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas and affairs, no familiarity with its emotions. Art transports us from the world of men's activity to a world of esthetic exaltation."

A German critic, Bahr, has tried to formulate a physiological explanation for the functioning of the imagination. He interprets these visions, the *significant form* of Clive Bell and the imaginative life of Roger Fry, in this manner:



Fig. 761. — A. Maillol. The Goddess. *(Luxemburg Museum.)* PARIS.

what we see is the result of impressions on the retina, but this membrane, or retina, can be impressed also by internal actions, a congestion, for example. Then we shall see as we see when the impression comes from the outside. Bahr says: "What we see with closed eyes — streaks, mists, spots, fiery spheres, stripes of color, — they are nothing else but the reflex action caused by other organs, to whose every condition or state the eye can only react in light, color, or darkness.

"To have apparitions, pictures, visions, or whatever else one may call them, we have only to imagine something with sufficient emphasis to let it penetrate to the substance of the visual sense. As soon as the waves of our inner life reach the eye we see an inner light, as we hear a sound when its waves strike against the ear. On what does the whole effect of music rest? The tones do not reach the composer from without... What the painters of the newest tendency strive after is, so to say, music for the eyes. They do not intend to imitate nature, and therefore one misjudges them if one compares their pictures to nature. We may as little ask them *where* they have the like in nature as we ask the composer where he has heard his motive. He has heard within himself; they have seen within themselves. For him the secret power has turned into sound; for them into light."



Fig. 762. — Manship. Indian Bowman. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

Bahr calls the new school Expressionism. "Art must bring life, produce life from within." Some will say that if the life that the expressionists produce is not more attractive than the one

they have produced, it is better to go back. But according to Bahr, Gauguin and others, the bourgeois rule of the last century changed us into savages. "If Expressionism at the moment behaves in an ungainly violent manner, its excuse lies in the prevailing conditions it finds." "Impressionism silenced the soul." "Let us wait," Bahr seems to say.



Fig. 763.—Mestrovic. Marko Marulic. *(Art Institute.)* CHICAGO.

Walter Pach, the propagandist for the new schools in the United States, writes in these terms: "Post-impressionism offered a better conception of art... but in retaining any semblance of the imitative, some chance for confusion between art and nature remained. In a cubistic picture there is no such chance. One can judge the work only as good art or bad. There is a certain reference to the thing seen — certain phases of it are given, but the structure of color and form built from these phases of the object is now to be referred to no law of material science, — anatomy, perspective luminosity, etc.; the work is to be considered as idea, as art." "As long as we persist in the habit of judging pictures by their likeness to nature — that is, their likeness to given convention of nature, one determined by a previous experience with pictures, — so long do we miss their significance."

The greatest modern Hispanic thinker, José Ortega, discovers in his study two capital things about contemporary art: that it is unpopular and that it is pervaded with irony. But how could it be otherwise? It is an expression of the feeling of one, not the feeling of all, and necessarily offensive to the unsympathetic observer. This very isolation of the artist produces in him a certain contempt, which manifests itself in a tendency to caricature. But did not Gauguin say that all art is caricature?

There still remains the possibility that all this is but the fashion of the moment. However it is not the first time the same distaste for naturalistic reproduction has been felt in Europe. The Roman artists of the Fourth Century A.D. replaced with schematic and geometrical design the juicy realism of the Flavian period. Again in the Middle Ages, the figures of El Greco, Tintoretto and even Michelangelo bear witness to a concern with the interior world which marks them as strangely expressionistic.

And, indeed, what was baroque art if not a deliberate and persistent effort to escape the tyranny of nature? It is probable that after a few centuries modern art, seen in its proper perspective, will appear to be merely the continuation of Renaissance art, with euphuism and rococo the necessary consequences... and an absurd gap produced by the anti-esthetic intellectualism of the neo-clas-



Fig. 764. — Duchamp-Villon. Baudelaire.

sicists. Remember that the neo-classic reaction lasted at least until Corot. Who can say if the impressionists will become an episode without importance, a slight deviation in the path of art?

After having spoken of the art of contemporary schools perhaps more than necessary, it is time that we pass to mention the results. These produce a certain delusion. The works are not as interesting as the theory.

The first person to be mentioned is Odilon Redon, who was unwittingly the initial expressionist. For many years he was an idealist, reducing forms to simbols and ideas to elements. Orpheus becomes a lyre, with a shadow head in the midst of the landscape (fig. 749). Meier-Graefe says of Redon's works: "They were pastels of a magic color which could be compared to nothing pictorial, still less with anything in nature." For an artist born in 1840 and working toward the end of the Nineteenth Century, there could hardly be demanded more expressionism.

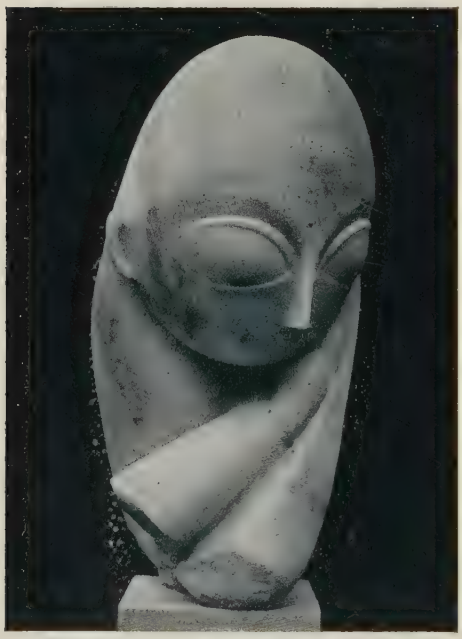


Fig. 765. — Brancusi. Mademoiselle Pogany.

Also in an enchanted world moved Henri Rousseau, the customs-agent. Harnessed as he was in his office, his only opportunity to paint came on Sundays, when he would liberate from his imagination the fantastic tropical scenes which he had been visualizing during the week. To leave the dismal custom-house for a shining forest filled with tigers, birds and monkeys must have been a signal relief (fig. 750).

But the real founders of expressionism in France were Matisse and Derain. The former, especially, sometimes makes us fear that European art will become a pure combi-

nation of spots of color, in the manner of Oriental rugs. Often in a Persian rug the initiated discern geometric figures which they call the king and queen surrounded by smaller similar forms, the princes. What is the Oriental able to see in his rugs that tells him a story? Matisse does not reduce the elements to shapes as simple as the Oriental rugs, but groups them with the same order or disorder, very different from the usual perspective. The technique of Matisse is deliberately childish. Perhaps that is why we like it (figs. 751 and 752).



Fig. 766. — Manolo H. Crouching Woman. *(Simon Gallery.)* PARIS.

Matisse explains his manner of painting by saying: "If when I arrive at the studio I do not feel a vision to paint, I go to ride horseback, and it is probable that I shall have something to do when I return." There is nothing in his method of putting himself before a model and forcing himself to see sympathetically and reproduce artistically. For Matisse, as for many of the post-impressionists, study in a museum is more important than stuy of the living model.

Derain sketches and inflates his figures and trees as if they were haunted. Their charm lies neither in beauty nor personality but in the tortured fascination of their impossible existence (fig. 753).

Georges Rouault emphasizes still more the ugliness of his subjects, just as modern literature emphasizes perversion. All that is desired is that his figures penetrate our brains and pursue us like a night-mare.

Utrillo obtains the same effect in his views of the streets of the suburbs of Paris. With their dirty walls, their shabby fences, and the sickly trees of the squares, they present an aspect of reality which is infinitely tragic and depressing (fig. 754).

Duchamp, who started as a cubist, now paints with spots of color like patched cloth or cloisonné enamel. By thus obscuring his subjects he affords the same pleasure derived from working out a mathematical equation or a cross-word puzzle.

Dunnoyer de Segonzac irritates us by his tendency to centre the interest in certain parts of the composition, leaving the remainder in complete darkness or total light (fig. 759).



Fig. 767. — The Telephone Building. New York.

Roger de la Fresnaye, still in the cubist mood, constructs landscapes and still lifes with ferocious vigor and strange form.

From these examples the reader may imagine the variety of methods employed by the modern artist to agitate us. Every artist has his own mood; every work is practically of a different school. The artists themselves have not remained consistent. Picasso is a good example. He was born in Malaga, Spain, in 1881; studied in the Academy of Barcelona, imitated Steinlen drawings in Paris, painted in blues (fig. 755) and in rose (fig. 756); became interested in primitive negro art; turned cubist (fig. 758); passed through a phase of super-realism with well studied natural forms, after which he experimented with round and rococo images, only to assert that he is now more a cubist than ever (fig. 757).

The necessity for new forms of expression is evidenced by the fact that the revolt occurred not only in France, but also in other countries at the same time. The noisiest proclamation of distaste for the past was the manifesto of the Italian Futurists, issued in 1909. They were tired of the sensuality of D'Annunzio, the intellectuality of Carducci and the tears of Pascoli, and even proposed to destroy all past painting, to burn museums and to start quite afresh. Little remains today of the clamor of Marinetti and his friends Carra, Severini and Boccioni, but their vigorous attempts broke some of the fetters of the past and destroyed the superstition among Latin races that nothing new can compare with old. To Marinetti a machine may be more beautiful than the victory of Samothrace. "Let us be crazy, let us shun wisdom as a stagnant pool." (Fig. 760.)

In Germany Nolde, Dix and the exasperating Gross compelled the bourgeoisie to look at things they did not care to see. The Russian exiles aided in the spread of new feeling. Czarist Russia had accepted and absorbed the first

cartoons of Picasso, and her emigres merely gave back their teachings to Europe. The Soviets as well saw the importance of cubism, expressionism and futurism, and are perhaps the only people in the world who have officially adopted the new art for government propaganda, education and esthetic relaxation.

Even in America the new art is penetrating rapidily. Perhaps the most monumental paintings of the modern school are the decorations of Diego Rivera in the Mexican capital. In the United States, Prendergast, Kuhn, Davis and scores of others may be mentioned as devotees of cubism and expressionism.



Fig. 768.— The Metropolitan Opera Building *(project)*. New York.

Sculpture passed through similar experiences. During the Nineteenth Century it had been neo-classic rather than impressionistic. With primitive Greek and Egyptian models in the museums, it was not difficult to break with an idea of *supreme beauty* to return to the geometrical simplicity of archaic schools. In 1903, Rodin, who was a member of the jury, insisted that a sculpture of Maillol be put in the place of honor at the Exhibition of the Champs Elysées (fig. 761). Maillol since then has been making simplified archaic forms which are still enjoyed in Europe for their depth and power of expression. Sculpture on the whole, in recent years, has been more satisfying than painting, and some immortal forms have already been created. Let us mention the work of the Croat Mestrovic (fig. 763), the American Manship (fig. 762), the German Haller, the Italian de Fiori, the Russian Archipenko, the Spanish Manolo (fig. 766), the French Duchamp-Villon (fig. 764), and above all the Roumanian Brancusi (fig. 765), who makes use of geometrical forms and simple rotating lines wich remind us of a perfect organic machine. The disparity between the forms of engines and art forms diminishes as boht reach a higher point of evolution.

In the meantime architecture keeps pouring concrete into cubical and pyramidal molds. The modern skyscrapers no longer derive from cathedral towns, as did the Woolworth Building and the Chicago Post Building, but are inspired by the Babylonian ziggurats and Toltec step-pyramids (fig. 767). The results are fantastic. Structures towering against the sky, striated with windows between

concrete buttresses, fill the air. Especially at night they make great streaks and lines, with or without beauty, but impressive and sublime (fig. 768).

And as we finish, in this moment of world history, when science attempts to unfold the atom, when new machines have conquered the sky and invaded the depths of the sea, art is striving to conquer another part of the universe: that which is within man.

"Allons, to that which is endless as it was beginningless."

Summary. — At the end of the Nineteenth Century almost everywhere in the world there was felt a fatigue with realistic art then represented by the impressionists. Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh in France, although originally impressionists, began an interpretation of nature in an exceedingly personal way. Cézanne attempted a constructive representation of the landscape, and exaggerating this tendency Picasso and Braque founded the cubistic school. The possibility of simultaneous visions was given as an excuse for the school, which was a great help to the artists. The critics explain this phenomenon as the necessity of reproducing a significant form or expressing an internal feeling. Perhaps due to the difficulty of creating such internal visions, art strives cheefly to produce in the spectator the shock of an extremely individualistic sensation. The aim seems to be to shake, to bewilder and to torment the contented beholder. At the same time the tendency toward geometrical and non-imitative forms seems to prepare for plastic works which may be considered the continuation of the baroque and euphuistic schools. Sculpture had an easier course, for there were magnificent precedents of archaic Greek schools to be admired and copied. But more and more the objective seemed to be the same, pure abstract forms. Architecture with its gigantic new concrete buildings, had to avoid detail, and found perhaps better than the other arts, successful results. With the Russian ballet as painting in movement, with music and literature also assisting, the future of modern art seems fatally settled.

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Fig. 769. — Francis Bruguière. A design in abstract forms of light.



Fig. 770.—Modern Photograph. The Ben Hur Races. *(Goldwin Film.)*

ALPHABETIC LIST

OF

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Fig. 771. — El Greco. Womankind. *(Pitcairn Collection.)* Bryn Atyn, Pa.

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